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CONCEPT OF VALUE IN SOCIALIST LAW INTERPRETED

Prague PRAVNIK in Czech No 1, 1987 pp 26-33

[Article by Jana Sluneckova: "Socialist Law, Value and Evaluation"]

[Excerpts] The teaching of the force of legal norms--of the division of legal norms into primary and derivative regulations--constitutes part of the Marxist-Leninist theory of state and law. This division of norms is generally used in state and legal sciences and in our legal praxis.

The question of preferred values that are protected by legal norms and the category of legal norms according to the importance of those values for our society is far more complex. Obviously, our law protects all social values, however, the context of our laws, the methods of protection of individual values, and the sanctions imposed for violations of the relation in which those values are protected, or sanctions for jeopardizing such values per se, will demonstrate that our law does not protect every value with the same force. Our law provides greater protection for such values as, for example, human life and well-being, than for personal property (i.e., property in private ownership) which also is an indisputable value recognized by the socialist society. We are consciously striving to protect by socialist laws all values that constitute the foundations of our socialist society.

Obviously, it is realistically impossible to create a hierarchical category of legal norms according to the protection of this or that socially meaningful value, because a scale of values recognized and protected by our socialist society according to their importance for our society has not been, and cannot be, established; every value preferred by our society is not equally important in every stage of the development of socialism. Nevertheless, our socialist state and its agencies, the communist party with its leading role in our society, the Marxist-Leninist ideology, property in socialist ownership, and other values that constitute the foundations of our society must necessarily be the preferred and the most protected values. Socialist law is a system of general obligatory norms which protect the values of the socialist society; therefore, law is also included among our society's preferred and most protected values because if we apply certain legal regulations to protect a specific value, by this legal norm we are also protecting legal regulations from being violated, and we are protecting a specific legal regulation or a general obligatory norm of conduct.

The conclusions of sociological research which studied legal knowledge, value orientation, ideological orientation of our citizens, etc., confirmed different degrees of fixed values and of legal norms which preserve those values in people's minds. Thus, for instance, a great many citizens think that the regulations of criminal law protect privately owned property as much as property in socialist ownership. These citizens fail to understand that property in socialist ownership is a socially preferred value which constitutes the foundations of the welfare of our society. The failure to understand these basic issues seriously obstructs the formation not only of the legal consciousness of these citizens but also of other forms of their awareness and their world view. Property in socialist ownership is the foundation of the wealth that belongs not only to the whole society but to every individual living in our society. Each person's living standard depends on the wealth of our socialist society. In other words, this is a dialectic relation between socialist ownership and the private property of every individual.

So long as some of our citizens fail to realize this fact, they cannot understand that property in socialist ownership is a socially preferred value that must be protected by law in proportion to its importance for our society.

I underscored that the dialectic relation of property in socialist ownership and private property may demonstrate that the creation in people's mind of a correct scale of rules of conduct according to the category of values of our socialist society requires comprehensive education of every person who thinks and acts in the socialist way. Legal education must constitute part of comprehensive education of an enlightened person and also help shape his scientific world view and other socialist forms of consciousness.

An individual who judges every situation in which he finds himself and in which he acts responds to it in accordance with his value orientation, his world view and his own rule of conduct. He assesses all phenomena which he encounters according to his value orientation and his world view, and conversely, these phenomena and situations reciprocally affect the formation of a person's value orientation, his world view and his forms of awareness. Thus, what is reflected in a person's mind is reflected in his mind precisely the way it appears to that particular individual.

In empirical consciousness "...unlike the most general conclusions of special scientific knowledge which attain ideological relevance only in consequence of philosophical theoretical interpretation, in the form of political and spiritual knowledge of the world, reality is captured from the very beginning in the same way as it appears to man in his actual deeds and experience. These spiritual formations are"--in Marx's words--"intermingled in the direct language of real life," and independently of theoretical knowledge, or parallel to it, they lead man into the area of fundamental existential questions. By themselves, without any special theoretical mediation, they may serve as means for the orientation of individuals and social groups and for the determination of socially accepted ideals, and thus, they may function as a world view."

People's education is a process which the development of socialist society renders increasingly challenging and complex. As our society progresses and as our social relations gain in variety and richness, so arise and grow the

expectations of political awareness, professional skills and ethical and volitional quality of the people who live in our society and are involved in socialist social relations.

The educational process of individuals who think and act in the socialist way may follow the findings of empirical research which analyzed the consciousness of the people in our society. We achieved considerable success in past years. For example, empirical research by the Institute for the Study of Public Opinion at the FSU [Federal Bureau of Statistics] confirmed that Marxism-Leninism is the leading world view in our society according to the number of persons who affirm it as their own ideology. Furthermore, this research demonstrated that our citizens realize the advantages of our socialist society and that they appreciate the life in our socialist society they recognize the fact that, as compared with capitalism, socialism is able to provide better care for citizens in their sickness and old age, to offer people security and life without fear, to defend world peace, to involve the working people in the management and administration of public affairs, to open access to education and culture for the people, to encourage people's talents, etc.

Yet we know that some people in our country still adhere to world views other than Marxism-Leninism. The final report by the Institute for Research of Public Opinion at the FSU issued in 1979 assessed the research of ideological problems. On the basis of summary indicators, according to the number of persons professing a certain world view--in addition to other world views that had not been included in this study--the following sequence was established: 1. Marxism-Leninism; 2. liberalism; 3. apolitical; 4. pragmatic; 5. religious world view. We learned that factors of various ideological orientations are intertwined in the minds of some of our citizens and thus, their own affirmation of a certain world view is not decisive.

Our influence on man is blocked by his apolitical stance which is very difficult to overcome. Nevertheless, tendencies toward apolitical attitudes actually do not represent a true ideological orientation, but rather an escape from dealing with problems that occur in the life of society. The advocates of this trend are trying to evade the solution of crucial political issues. They are not interested in politics; they keep their political views to themselves; they do not get involved in political and public life; they consider the study of Marxism-Leninism unnecessary. Man's apolitical stance indicates not only the level and quality of his political awareness but also the ethical and legal awareness of a specific individual. It is therefore gratifying that the young people in our country are the least inclined to apolitical attitudes.

We have access to other findings of the Institute for the Study of Public Opinion at the FSU, which reflect the meaning of specific values to the people and their effect on the formation of people's attitudes and consequently, on their conduct. I shall mention only one of those findings, which is very indicative. A great majority of our citizens confess that they love our country; they speak of their love for their family, friends, relatives, and of their appreciation for their existential and social securities provided by our socialist system.

Love for our country is a meaningful device which may serve as a point of departure in teaching socialist citizenship, socialist legal awareness, labor discipline, and the attitude toward our socialist society.

ROLE OF IDEOLOGY IN RESTRUCTURING NEWLY DEFINED

Prague NOVA MYSL in Czech No 5, 1987 pp 84-95

[Article by Pavel Indra and Ladislav Tomasek: "Topical Roles of Scientific Communism"]

[Excerpts] Considering the fact that scientific communism is a relatively young science, it is logical and natural that it is still elucidating, elaborating, and concretizing its subject within the framework of the system of social sciences. Today, the scientific community basically agrees that scientific communism studies the universal laws of the origin, development and functioning of the communist socio-economic structure as a unified system with emphasis on its socio-political aspects, from the viewpoint of fulfilling the epoch-making mission of the working class. It represents the common political theory of the international communist and workers' movement (within its framework the world socialist system is also engaged in actual activities, in practice). Although the focal point of attention of scientific communism is studying the topical, real-life problems of building socialism, particularly at this stage of its development, it also considers, from the standpoint of its subject, the problems of the other moving forces of the global revolutionary process, that is, the national liberation movements and other democratic movements of the masses. It concentrates foremost on the present and the future, on analyzing the developmental trends of today's world.

However, to do that it has to study all issues as an objective process which has its own logic, objective dialectics that includes the past, the present, as well as the future of the movement. That is why it also collaborates closely with the historical sciences, particularly those that are concerned with the history of the revolutionary workers' movement.

Scientific communism has the strongest interdisciplinary links to marxist-leninist philosophy and the politics of economy. The necessity for their continuing cooperation and unity, as exemplified by the works of the founders of scientific communism and Lenin's work, grows ever more urgent. The reason for it is also the fact that the global

revolutionary process, despite all its complexities, is developing as a totality in which the development of its individual components is mutually conditioned and augmented. Furthermore, a successful course of the socialist build up is increasingly dependent on how it is understood as a unified system in which all spheres of societal life are organically linked together. It is also a given that the "fact" of future development of global socialism, as well as the entire global revolutionary process, is ever more organically (but not fatalistically) bound together with the totality of global events, with the development of civilization as a whole.

Scientific communism, when studying the legitimacy of the socio-political sphere of public life, must also build on the analyses of the economic and intellectual spheres. It cannot, of course, replace political economics or the theory of culture, but it has to cooperate closely with them from the point of view of its subject and its mandate to draw summary universal conclusions.

It has its own specific methodology, high abstraction, which flows from its nature as a component of marxism-leninism. "Only through the common, creative work of philosophers and specialists in the area of scientific communism will it be possible to raise the level and the efficiency of these studies, in which these sectors of the social sciences are engaged in natural cooperation with scientists in other specialities.

The development of scientific communism as a relatively young discipline naturally brings with it a gradual mastery over some temporary extreme views, which appeared mainly in the following guises: 1. as an insufficient differentiation of the subject of philosophy (particularly historical materialism) and the subject of scientific communism, considered practically identical; 2. as the effort to include within the periphery of scientific communism all political sciences without regard to their subjects and possible degree of generalization; 3. as the effort to sublimate and incorporate historical political disciplines into the subject of scientific communism.

These extremes did not represent the mainstream development of scientific communism. But it would be a mistake to overlook them or not learn from them. They sometimes led to unnecessary dissensions with philosophers, lawyers, historians, and so on, and strengthened the harmful notion that perhaps scientific communists here or in other socialist countries do not know "what they want," do not know their subject, but meddle in everything. At the present time there is a growing trend toward creative research and fruitful cooperation, and effort to work on an inter-specialization basis, and establish interdisciplinary research teams, including international ones.

A significant dividing line, even for the development of scientific communism, was the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the 17th Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party. These congresses opened, in a certain sense, a new stage in the development

of socialist society. They represent a turning point in the life of our countries as well as in all international political events. They approved the program line of the strategy to accelerate socio-economic and societal development and the restructuring of social relationships in all sectors of life. Its implementation will also ordain a new quality of tasks for scientific communism.

Scientific communism must play its positive, inspirational and, in certain respects, innovative role in ensuring a fundamental turnaround of scientific research toward the needs of practical application, in the creation and development of new thinking, in deepening the unity of theory and practice.

The topical task of scientific communism is to analyze the issues connected with the character of the current era (without re-interpreting the history of international communist and workers' movement). Invaluable theoretical and methodological suggestions are provided by the new edition of the Program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. In this connection an opportunity presents itself to make clear the continuing international validity and topicality of the legacy of the Great October, which lives mainly in the substance of the revolutionary changes of today in all spheres of the global revolutionary process, particularly in the process of reconstructing the social relationships in the Soviet Union and other countries of the global socialist community. It presents an opportunity to "tell people all over the world the truth about the new order, about socialism as an alternative to capitalism."

Scientific communism is charged with providing an analysis of the main moving forces of the current global revolutionary process, their substance, their operating mechanism, the role of world socialism, particularly the impact the example of socialism makes on the global revolutionary process, new forms of cooperation of socialist countries with communist, workers', and national liberation movements.

Scientific communism, in cooperation with economists and specialists on international relations and communist and workers' movements, must analyze the nature of the contradictions within contemporary capitalism and within the world bourgeoisie, and draw from it conclusions for the strategy and tactics of the international communist and workers' movement. At the same time, however, it is also necessary to analyze the conclusions of the strategists of the imperialist bourgeoisie, and deduce from them measures for waging the international class struggle by revolutionary forces.

It is our opinion that it is necessary to make a serious, scientific analysis of the situation in developing countries, particularly from the point of view of a further revolutionary course of action in those regions, and the tasks of the international communist and workers' movement. Scientific communism must also pay attention to the peace and anti-war movements as a factor of international policy.

The new nature of the tasks formulated by the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the 17th Congress of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, inevitably poses the question wherein lies the specificity of our times, of the current stage in the development of socialism does the definition of the current stage fall within the traditional time divisions of socialism, does it concretize this division more accurately? According to the belief of the authors, the basic time divisions are enduringly valid, as formulated by V. I. Lenin in his well-known preparatory work for his State and Revolution. It was advanced by the Soviet and other marxist scientists as a critical response to simplistic and incorrect notions in which the transition period was practically thought of as identical with the first phase of communist socio-economic formation, and the higher phase was, figuratively speaking, already seen on the near horizon. But life corrected also many of the notions current in the Seventies. It taught us that to achieve an intensive development of the work forces, it is not enough to pass political resolutions, but it is necessary to restructure the entire system of production relations, produce a research and development revolution, base to a great extent on the internal resources of the economy, and take into consideration the interests of the public.

Sharp criticism was aimed at scholastic speculations which, true enough, stemmed from some of Lenin's thoughts, but thanks to which theory and practice kept parting company more and more. This had the greatest impact on economic development, which began to slow down and even show elements of stagnation. Therefore, the first order of priority is to deepen the unity of theory and practice. Science has to draw more than ever on the vital needs of practice.

The key task of the theory of scientific communism today rests in the analysis of the system of socio-political connections and the nature of the dynamics of a socialist society, dynamics, which are dependent on and indivisible from the restructuring of social relationships. "Party agencies are responsible for the political direction of the restructuring." These words, with some modification, can apply very aptly to the theory of scientific communism as an essentially partisan, political science discipline. That is why scientific communism pays attention more than ever to the socio-political connections of economic development. It is becoming clear that the expected economic progress depends to an ever increasing degree on the effectiveness of politics. "Reconstruction itself is possible only by means of democracy and thanks to democracy." At the same time, the work ethics of socialist democracy are being enhanced, and from that flows an ever closer unity (but not identification) and cooperation of politics and economics (particularly at the horizontal level) as a manifestation of implementing the political line of the party.

A significant task of the theory of scientific communism is to analyze a number of issues concerning the impact of the restructuring of the economic mechanism on the material base of the union of working people under the leadership of the workers' class. Furthermore, it will

take up the question of how this union will share actively in the restructuring, what role will belong to politics in the processes of restructuring, what it will consist in, when in a given case will politics have primacy over economics (individual components of the political system), and how in return economics will influence politics, its substance, and future development. That is a new phenomenon; so far, we have been used to thinking approximately this way: individual classes and social groups have differentiated, nonantagonistic positions within the system of production relations, from which stem also the diversity and nonantagonistic contradictions of their economic and, it follows, also political interests, their graduated objective stake in basic economic and social changes on the historic road from capitalism to communism. This reasoning was correct, it was in accord with the materialistic interpretation of history, but in realizing the historic calling of the working class it took into consideration more or less only the outward political impact on the mentioned changes, or, put in scholarly terms, only the vertical impact of politics on economics, and to the extent that the role of the party organizations within the economy was considered, it was from the point of view of a passive implementation of resolutions made by superior party agencies.

Where is the qualitative change taking place now? The expectation is for greater relative independence of the economy and its individual components from politics, without infringing upon the primacy of politics over economics. A greater consideration will be given to the subjective side of economic interests in production, which should strengthen the unity of group and society-wide interests. This is being achieved by way of a higher relative independence of enterprises within the framework of democratic centralism. Greater independence will contribute to a higher conscious responsibility of the entire union of people working in production for the individual interests of the working collective, which is developing according to, and in the direction of the interests of the whole society. The party organization in the enterprise, higher party agencies, and central agencies of economic management will share in overcoming possible discords. The restructuring of the economic mechanism will contribute (as a material base) to a deeper, more conscious unity of the objective and subjective side of the interests of all groups of working people. The unity of politics and economics in the enterprise sphere will create (but not automatically) barriers against a possible preference being given to one social group over another (for example, the intelligentsia over workers). Democratic centralism with its efficient mechanisms will prevent the appearance of any possible elements of renewed capitalism, elitist tendencies, technocratic management, etc.

In setting the above mentioned processes into motion, a significant role has to be played by ideology. Scientific communism thus centers its attention also on spiritual culture, the limitations of an economist--politics is being expanded to a "third dimension"--ideology.

The elemental (but also technocratic) development of "socialist" economics precludes the participation of ideology, the planned development on the contrary naturally requires it, not only as a resource applied to economics from the outside, from some disconnected sphere, but mainly as an inner component of the processes of economic development and the linkage of economics and politics in specific production processes.

Ideology will function as an important factor of management (and leadership) at the central, as well as the enterprise level, but at the same time also as a factor in the development of democracy. Democracy and management, to be sure, will not be developing side by side, or opposite each other, but in organic unity. Ideology teaches how to understand the political and social aspects of economics.

Scientific communism will bear its share of responsibility for defining (together with philosophy) the question of the role of the human (and in the broader sense the subjective) factor in implementing the strategy of accelerating social development. In our opinion, from the standpoint of scientific communism, we are talking about a higher historical substance of the humanism of social politics through the energetic and consistent orientation to the needs of man and the humanization of political relations and political processes (its democratism and culture). But that cannot be achieved from the heights of an abstract, out of time, humanism (where usually one can detect the devil's imprint of bourgeois humanism), from the heights of its moralizing pseudocriticism, but only from the position of the socialist, realistic humanism intrinsically connected with the solutions of concrete economic and political tasks of the present.

To learn democracy is a task for everyone: for political workers, supervisory cadres, for all citizens, because it is a concern of all of us. If it is to be an effective, moving force of socialism, of its change-over, even an ordinary citizen must learn democracy—his rights and duties, because socialist democracy is his concern. To learn democracy means to learn to manage and conduct public affairs. That also requires learning to know how democracy functions, and because it is realized by the instrumentality of all the components of the socialist political system, it means also the laws of the functioning of the mechanism of the political system, and the mechanisms of people's participation in political leadership and control.

From this stems the task of scientific communism to analyze and promote the mechanisms of a realistic functioning of democracy, because democracy does not exist as such in the abstract, but exists and lives through the instrumentality of the individual components of the political system.

Scientific communism must give special attention to the forms of direct democracy, the realization of the principle of the public, new forms of development of the political subjectivity of the people. The historically

higher level of the development of socialist democracy requires that the masses know more about the laws of politics than they do now, and not only in theory, but in political activity itself. The development of democracy inevitably leads to a greater politicization of the working people. It appears to be particularly necessary to study the legitimacy and the mechanisms of self-management in basic work collectives.

Emphasis on new, constructive tasks of the socialist build-up does not give the right to lessen the attention given to the issues of ideological struggle. The international bourgeoisie pays unprecedented attention to developments in the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, particularly to the political course of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. A new situation is slowly developing in the anti-communist camp: in relation to world socialism new political and ideological attitudes are developing, new concepts are emerging which have to be studied, and necessary conclusions drawn from them in time.

Almost all anti-communists draw erroneous conclusions from the criticism of the new Soviet leadership aimed at mistakes and shortcomings. The slowdown in economic development means to them a "unmistakeable" sign of a chronic crisis of the so-called Soviet model and Leninism in general. According to the mistaken notions of anti-communists, world socialism, and thus indirectly also world communism, is supposed to be irrevocably moving on a downhill path which will end sometime in the next century, and then communism will belong to history.

But anti-communists are not alone in evaluating the situation in the Soviet Union and in the countries of the world socialist community. Some maintain that the process of reform will sooner or later come up against the barriers of bureaucratism and closeness of the socialist system and will be stopped. Others from the enemies of socialism camp are of the opinion that it is the motivation of the reform process that is crucial; it stems from the utilitarian point of view, they say, from the effort to make up the lag behind the capitalist countries in technology, not from the needs of democracy and humanism, thus not from the values of the free world, as they call it. According to them, the implementation of these reforms will not contribute in the long run to a rapprochement in attitudes, and in the international arena to the establishment of international relations according to the ideas of the bourgeoisie. Thus there is really no need to change fundamentally the foreign relations attitudes toward countries with real socialism. Only a part of this camp expects that the changes in socialist countries will lead to some new-fashioned convergence.

The first two streams agree that it is necessary to apply a "peace policy" toward socialist countries, but only from a position of strength, to establish peaceful co-existence to such a degree that will not allow world socialism to develop its economic and other potential, assert its priorities and exert a more fundamental influence on the

global revolutionary process. Only the third stream is willing to engage in cooperation in the belief that it will put a new face on socialist countries, the values of "western civilization."

The theory of scientific communism, but also its propagation, will stem from the thesis of the inseparableness of socialism and peace, socialism and democracy. It will continue to pursue the foreign policy of peace, the policy of the peaceful co-existence of countries with different social order, naturally without illusions about world anti-communism, but, on the contrary, with a firm belief in the victory of the revolutionary, democratic, progressive, and peace-loving forces of the world in their struggle against imperialism for a lasting peace and progress in the world.

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SEARCH FOR 'THIRD WAY' DENOUNCED

Prague TRIBUNA in Czech 6 May 87 pp 8, 7

[Article by Jaroslav Kucera: "Acceleration and Restructuring"]

[Text] The January plenum of the CPSU Central Committee has shown that the obstacles to the development of socialism are rooted in seriously deficient work of institutions of socialist democracy, outdated political and theoretical concepts which sometimes do not even agree with reality, and conservative mechanisms of management. This also leads to the intensification of contradictions between the contents and forms of socialism, its essence and its specific expressions, and to the paucity of solutions of such controversies. Other reasons encouraging the spread of this problem which was evident also from increasing imperfections and lower effectiveness of the forms of socialism stem from their lag behind time.

The indisputable success achieved by the USSR, CSSR and other socialist countries in their development is proof that socialism is the most dynamic society in history. The building of socialism considerably changed objective and subjective conditions of development--forces of production, the people's way of life, their culture, skills and needs. The international situation and other factors also underwent major changes. In this context the 27th CPSU Congress articulated the idea of a fundamental breakthrough in the development of the USSR, of socialism and of the whole world. Nevertheless, social forms and mechanisms of socialism have changed very little over the past decades. In his address to the plenum at the CPSU Congress on 27 January 1987 Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev said that the theoretical ideas of socialism remained in many ways on the level of the 1930's and 1940's when society was coping with entirely different problems."

Naturally, these ideas were reflected in practice. When, for example, Soviet economists searched for the origin of the volume indicator for construction and assembly works which was used until recently in the USSR and CSSR and which directly encouraged waste of construction materials and power, they made an interesting discovery. This particular indicator was introduced already in the first Soviet 5-year plan, but with the proviso that it would be applied until another, more appropriate indicator is found. However, similar indicators, forms of management and planning, and other factors compose an economic mechanism as a whole, whose interrelations and operations lagged more and more behind the development of production forces.

The Political Report by the CPSU to the 27th CPSU Congress stressed that "experience has shown the untenability of ideas according to which socialism automatically introduces harmony between production relations and the character of production forces.... Modern forms of relations in production and the system of management and administration were introduced mostly during an extensive development of economy. Gradually they became outdated, started losing their purpose as incentives, and in many ways, they turned into hindrances."

For that reason many obsolete and ineffective forms (for instance, administrative forms of management, economic mechanisms that no longer conform to modern methods, formalism, bureaucracy, etc) were multiplying and hampered any more rapid development of socialism; they stymied in particular every new quality in its development. These social forms and mechanisms prevented full utilization of the advantages and basic principles of socialism, prompt solution of its objective conflicts, and appropriate release of the most powerful stimulant of the new society--the creative initiative of the masses.

Eurocommunists and other right-wing revisionists reacted to this situation in their typical non-Marxist, non-dialectic and non-class oriented manner. They would not search for the cause of the problems of socialism where it actually was, namely, in its ineffective and obsolete forms, but where it was not, i.e., in its very essence. They alleged that the revolutionary process launched in October 1917 had exhausted its stimulating power and that some kind of a "third way," in other words, a road between socialism and capitalism, must be sought. They postulated the theory of "many models of socialism" whose common denominator was the absence of its basic structural principles.

The same process took place in the machinations of the right-wing and revisionist forces in our country during the 1968-1969 crisis. As emphasized in the Lessons from the Period of Crisis, the building of socialism in our country was not an easy task. It was full of drawbacks and difficulties. "In addition to problems stemming from the new type and complexity of our tasks, the building of socialism was accompanied by certain subjective errors. Their symptoms were self-satisfaction, inconsistent enforcement of the Leninist principles in the life and work of the party, insufficient generalization of the praxis and experience acquired by the masses, disregard for class approaches to social problems, getting ahead of the development, and violations of the principles of democratic centralism and of the party's internal democracy." The crisis rampant in our party and society in the second half of the 1960's arose from the most diverse, accumulated and unresolved controversies and deformations in the development.

The CPCZ plenum in January 1968 was supposed to open a way to reform the shortcomings. However, the hopes of our party and society were disappointed. According to a very detailed analysis of the Lessons from the Period of Crisis "...due to its heterogeneity, political disunity and overall weakness the new party leadership represented by A. Dubcek was not equal to this task....

A great potential source of strength for the development of socialism, which came from the people's initiative and hopes inspired by the January plenum, was wasted and even abused by the right-wing forces." Under the slogan of their concern for the renewal of socialism, its improvement and its better adaptation to Czechoslovak conditions, the right-wing forces deceived some working people and launched an attack against the very essence of socialism. They began to implement a program invented mostly by foreign anti-communist centers. In addition, already before 1968 they had seized a number of ideological institutions, above all the communications media, from which they carried out their political sorties against socialism.

The representatives of the right wing who in the late 1960's attempted to liquidate socialism in the CSSR and unscrupulously struck against all its essential principles are now attempting to affirm in the bourgeois communications media that the goals they had promoted are the same postulates currently enforced by the PSU and the CPCZ. As in 1968, they are brandishing slogans about democratization of society, self-management in production, application of market-price relations, encouragement of criticism, information and open policies, and so on.

However, when two persons say the same thing, it is not the same thing. Our party and the CPSU today criticize shortcomings in order to eradicate them and to strengthen socialism. In its campaign the right wing focused its criticism on the "building blocks" of socialism with the intention of crumbling and undermining them. The "democratization" of society demanded by the right wing was completely different from the current process of restructuring. The right wing wanted a kind of "democratization" that would legalize the machinations of the anti-socialist forces.

In fact, it was the most undemocratic "democratization" and information characterized by witch hunts and muzzling of honest communists in the media, and often aimed at their physical liquidation. "The press must really and literally serve those who work for it," declared A. J. Liehm at that time. In other words, it should not belong to others, i.e., to the masses of people; democracy should be the prerogative of the journalists.

The aim of the "self-management" in production organized during that period was neither expanded participation of work teams in the management, nor consolidation of socialist ownership. It was supposed to help reduce the higher, society-wide forms of ownership to a lower form, corporate ownership, repeal the party's leading role in economy, and undermine the control exerted by the state and by the plan in our economic operations. The right wing demanded absolute freedom for market-price relations and intended to transform economic units into a network of competing and mutually antagonistic associations.

It is obvious that the "restructuring" which in the end the right-wing opportunists demanded in 1968 with the support of the whole anti-communist coalition which they joined, was not a revolutionary but a thoroughly

counterrevolutionary process diametrically opposed to the process now underway in the USSR. The right wing had no intention to improve socialism but to break down its foundations, and to replace its basic principles of the building of socialism with bourgeois tenets. It did not intend to follow the legacy of February [1948] but to spawn an "anti-February," as Pavel Tigrid wrote in the emigre journal SVEDECTVI.

Our party and society learned their lesson from the events of 1968 and from the more recent developments in Poland. For that reason we can--and as the 5th session of the CPCZ Central Committee stressed--"we must show more courage to go forth under our party's leadership in the restructuring of our entire society and of every aspect of its activity." The words of Comrade Gorbachev at the January plenum of the CPSU Central Committee apply to us, too: "We cannot go back, and there is no place for us to go back to."

As we reject the revisionist deformations, we cannot agree with the identification of the form of socialism with the contents of socialism, which is not at all one and the same thing. In his address to the January plenum of the CPSU Central Committee Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev underscored the fact that "the forms of organization of society, as they actually developed, were rendered absolute in some way. Moreover, similar ideas about the very substance of socialism were identified with the attributes of socialism, considered immutable, and presented as dogmas that left no space for scientific study. A rigid image of socialist relations in production was created.... The socialist structure of society was presented schematically, without the contradictions and dynamism of the most diverse interests of its different strata and groups." This pragmatic and dogmatic identification of the essence of socialism with its forms caused the forms of socialism to lag behind life and to disrespect the primacy of politics over economy, which played right into the hands of bureaucracy, technocracy and pragmatism.

The CPSU and in its footsteps, other communist and workers' parties in socialist countries, including the CPCZ, reacted to the slowdown of the economic growth and social progress by formulating a strategic policy focused on an accelerated socioeconomic development of society. However, this is not at all a mechanical reaction to the preceding "slowdown" that is merely a statistical increase in the rate of economic growth. The point of departure, the process and the consequences of the current acceleration represent a new revolutionary quality.

Its only necessary objective solution may be the revolutionary restructuring of unsatisfactory social forms and mechanisms of socialism hindering the progress of our socialist society, and their replacement with such forms and mechanisms that may accelerate it. It is axiomatic that unless the economic mechanism is radically restructured, neither the USSR nor the CSSR can achieve even simple increases of the rate of their economic growth, and it would be completely impossible for them to implement revolutionary changes in its development on the basis of a transition to its new, intensive

quality. In view of the acceleration of the socioeconomic development whose fulcrum is in the economic area, the restructuring is an objectively inevitable process. The political report by the CPSU Central Committee to the 27th CPSU Congress emphasized: "Now much, and essentially everything, depends on our ability to utilize the advantages and opportunities of our socialist system, its economic power and social potential, and on our ability to replace outdated social forms, style and methods of work with new, and to adapt them to the changed conditions."

9004/12851

CS0: 2400/336

WATER POLLUTION NOT YET UNDER CONTROL

Bratislava PRACA in Slovak 6 Jan 87 p 2

[Article by M. Luknar: "Environmental Carelessness"]

[Text] In recent years, ecologists as well as all those who care about the environment have been able to sleep better. After a period of stagnation, the ecological program is being taken more seriously, financial resources for environmental protection have increased. During this 5-year plan only, KCS 17 billion were allocated for the improvement of the environment.

The greatest attention must be paid to water protection, particularly to building water purification stations. However, the present situation does not appear too optimistic. During the Sixth and Seventh 5-Year Plans, construction began on 42 waste water purification stations. They were completed during this 5-year plan. For example, the construction of the station for disposing of hydrolysates in Bukoza Vranov began in 1976, the waste water purification station in Puchov in 1978, and neither station has been completed. The construction of 6 water purification stations which began during the Seventh 5-Year Plan also failed to meet the completion deadlines.

There are several reasons for this. Mainly a low priority of these constructions and flaws in the investment sphere. While the investments were slowing down, many of these constructions became part of a so-called slow down program and not even changes in the project documentation or project basis would improve the situation.

In order to fulfill the tasks in the area of water protection, a state program for ecological investments was proposed in 1984 for the Eighth 5-Year Plan. It included 52 constructions of water purification stations to begin during this 5-year plan with a budget of 7.3 billion. The preparations for this were among the binding tasks of the state investment plan. The main goal of this program was to stop the increase in water pollution and to decrease it during the Ninth and Tenth 5-Year Plans.

However, the investment and supply sectors underestimated the significance of the CSSR Government decision No 262/1984 which resulted in several constructions not being prepared to begin on time. They were therefore postponed towards the later part of the 5-year plan. This will have unfavorable effects on the expected results and it will jeopardize the objectives of the Concept of Protecting and Creating the Environment in the SSR.

This unfavorable situation is apparent particularly in the construction of municipal waste water purification stations. Despite the 29 proposed stations, only 16 are included in the plan. The fact that the situation is downright alarming is supported by the following data: during 1960-1970, 59 municipal purification stations were built; between 1970-1980, the number was 45 and in the last 5-year plan only 18 stations were built. Needless to say, the population using the public sewer system continues to grow. And one more fact--only 28 percent of apartments built in the Seventh 5-Year Plan have a satisfactory waste water purification system....

As mentioned above, according to the State program for ecological investments, constructions of 52 water purification stations were to begin during this 5-year plan. In reality, the number is only 33 and even that causes problems. For example, the project for the second sewer canal for the ChZJD Bratislava was returned by the state experts to the investors and now the deadline for beginning construction is jeopardized. Levice, Kosice and Presov are also among the ones not ready for construction.

In the years 1989 and 1990, 18 investment constructions are to begin. But already now, the water purification station in the Asbestos-Cement works in Nitra-Mlynarce is jeopardized because of lack of a supplier of the technological part. The same is true for the reconstruction of the station at ChZSP Novaky and GCP Gemerska Horka. The SSR Ministry for Industry was not able to emphasize the projects at the Building Ministry, within the framework of the demands for the Eighth 5-Year Plan....

The goals of the State Program for Ecological Investments are in harmony with the objectives of the 17th CPCZ Congress. However, that is not the case for the approach to the implementation of these objectives. The approach is too sluggish and by no means does it correspond to the environmental protection requirements.

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CSO: 2400/219

COMMENTS ON NEW ABORTION LAW

Bratislava SMENA in Slovak 14 Jan 87 p 1

[Interview with Dr Jan Stencl CSc., the head of the OB GYN department at ILF (Medical and Pharmaceutical Institute for Continuing Education) and the director of the L. Derer OB GYN clinic in Bratislava by editor Eva Zelenayova; date and place not given]

[Text] Abortion, the Last Resort

In January a new abortion law was passed, addressing only women because it gives the right to them and only them to decide whether they want to become mothers.

[Question] What should they know about the new law?

[Answer] The abortion law was passed in order to protect a woman's health and to protect the interest of planned and responsible parenting. My personal view, however, is to prevent abortion, since it should be the last step taken to prevent unwanted pregnancy. There certainly should be efforts made to raise people's conscientiousness on the issue of responsible parenting. I would like to point out that since January 1987 all types of birth control will be free.

[Question] What are the first ambulatory experiences?

[Answer] Compared to the past, the number of abortions has increased. In Bratislava we are ready to respond to any demands. Otherwise, it seems that women are well informed about the new law.

[Question] What is the procedure for a woman that is pregnant and wants to have an abortion?

[Answer] She must visit her gynecologist, at home or at work, because only he has the authority to make the abortion request and to examine her. After her pregnancy has been determined she checks into the hospital facilities to have the abortion.

[Question] The abortion can be performed using two different methods: the classic method of D and C and a newer, more gentle method of suctioning the

embryo, i.e. mini-abortion. However, mini-abortions are contingent on an early pregnancy diagnosis. Are we able to make such diagnosis?

[Answer] In Bratislava we have very good conditions. We have set up a reference laboratory, where by using immunological methods we can determine pregnancy within 24 hours. It means that when a woman misses her menstruation by one or two days, she immediately brings her morning urine to her gynecologist. As I have just mentioned, within 24 hours, we will know whether she is pregnant. Only in such early stages of pregnancy can a mini-abortion be considered. In case of prima gravida, the cut off date is day 42 and in other women it is day 56, from the time of conception. I would like to stress, however, that 7 or 10 days after the mini-abortion it is extremely urgent that the urine pregnancy test be related to exclude extrauterine pregnancy, which could create very serious complications.

[Question] What is the cost of the abortion?

[Answer] Up to 8 weeks of pregnancy the abortion is free, after that is uniformly KCS 500. The age of the woman will determine to which facility she will go to have the abortion.

[Question] How often can a woman undergo an abortion?

[Answer] Every 6 months for women up to 35 years of age and those who have no more than 2 children. Those that have more than 2 children or are over 35 there is no limit.

[Question] How long do women stay in the hospital facilities and do they get sick leave for this?

[Answer] Since the abortion has to be legally registered and because it is a surgical procedure, the woman has the right to take sick leave. She will remain under the care the facilities for at least 24 hours, barring complications. As we have already mentioned, the new law is supposed to protect a woman's health. However, not in all regions of Slovakia are they as well prepared to carry out all the necessary procedures as they are in Bratislava. It is apparent that not everyone, including physicians, has grasped the purpose of the new law. And yet physicians themselves know best how abortions contribute to the mortality of unborn children as well as to female infertility.

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SUMMARIES OF MAJOR EINHEIT ARTICLES, MAY 1987

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 42 No 5, May 87 (signed to press 14 Apr 87)
pp 368, 479

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Gregor Schirmer, deputy department chief in the SED Central Committee; pp 397-404]

[Text] Socialism and Human Rights

By means of the subtopics of the class character of the human rights and the peace struggle, the identity of socialism and human rights, human rights implementation and personality development in socialism, and the human rights question in the scientific-technical revolution, it is being shown that the truth about human rights in socialism impressively attests to the superiority of our society in the international conflict between socialism and imperialism, between progress and reaction.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Rolf Reissig, director of the Institute for Scientific Communism at the SED CC's Social Sciences Academy and chairman of the Science Council for Scientific Communism; and Dr Frank Berg, research director at the same institute; pp 405-409]

[Text] The Right to a Life in Peace

Even the most eloquent masters of the imperialist human rights demagoguery cannot obliterate the truth: Only when world peace, the vital issue for all mankind, is preserved, all other human rights are important for humanity as such. Without ensuring that, they would lose their meaning. Peace and human rights--for that stands the policy resolutely championed by socialism of constructive relations of peaceful coexistence.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Herbert Steininger, head of the Marxism-Leninism department at Humboldt University, Berlin; pp 410-417]

[Text] On the Respect and Guarantees for Human Dignity

What is to be done to make human dignity prevail? Providing a sound scientific answer confirmed by practice to this question posed all throughout human history by progressive forces is among the distinctions of Marxism-Leninism and the accomplishments of our socialist society.

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Klaus Heuer, political staff member, SED Central Committee; pp 418-423]

[Text] Social Justice--Claim and Reality

Why is socialism socially the fairest social order in history thus far? Why does the socialist performance principle express the supreme measure of social justice possible in socialism? What demands are made on the government official to make our social justice felt and experienced every day by all citizens?

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Gunnar Winkler, director of the Institute for Sociology and Social Policy at the GDR Academy of Sciences and chairman of the Science Council for Social Policy and Demography; pp 424-430]

[Text] Work and Social Security

Ensuring social security for all reflects the humanistic character of our society and the capability inherent in socialism only of combining scientific-technical, economic, and social progress. What characterizes social security today? Why is the implementation of the right to work of fundamental importance to it? What new demands are arising particularly for management activity?

[Summary of article by Hermann Poeschel, member of and department chief in the SED Central Committee; pp 435-441]

[Text] Quality Production on International Standards

The quality level achieved ultimately decides how one can meet domestic market requirements and consolidate and expand foreign market positions. What about product quality, and what consequences follow from it for each section in the reproduction cycle and for management activity as such?

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Karl Hartmann, SED Central Committee candidate and first deputy rector and director of the science area of political economy and economic sciences at the SED CC's Karl Marx Party College; pp 442-448]

[Text] Results and Requirements of Comprehensive Intensification

How did our republic manage turning to comprehensive intensification and bringing in the pervasive renovation process in production? How was this process pitched and what expresses it, and which tasks must now be tackled that way?

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Heinrich Gemkow, deputy director of the SED CC's Institute for Marxism-Leninism; pp 449-455]

[Text] Marx and Engels in Berlin

What brought Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels to Berlin? How did they experience this city which had turned into a hub of capitalist factory manufacture, a site for the sciences and arts and, through the victory of Bebel's and Liebknecht's party over the anti-socialist laws, into the center of the German Marxist labor movement? Which spiritual impulses did the founders of scientific socialism get here for forming their revolutionary world-outlook and for maturing as persons?

[Summary of article by Prof Dr Horst Fiedler, Colonel at the Friedrich Engels Military Academy; pp 456-461]

[Text] The U.S. Military-Industrial Complex

This contribution mainly deals with the military-industrial complex as a specific militaristic, state monopoly governmental structure, as a reservoir and instrument of the most aggressive and reactionary forces of monopoly capital, and with the anatomy of this power trust and the power concentration of armaments capital. Questions arise from the carrying on by the military-industrial complex, incompatible with the human interests in assured peace, such as: Is its power within the imperialist system fateful, unavoidable, surmountable? Also: What responsibility is incumbent on socialism as the decisive counter-force against those forces?

[Summary of article by Dr Heinz Odermann, department chief at the Institute for International Relations at the GDR's Academy for Political Science and Jurisprudence; pp 462-467]

[Text] Media in Support of U.S. Armaments Capital

The private capitalist trans-and-multinational media make up the main part of the mass communications system in the United States. What expresses the trend of an increasing entwining between these media and the military-industrial complex? On what does the Administration's media power rely and how does it serve the world domination drive of the most aggressive U.S. imperialist forces? Also in the area of the U.S. media there are forces of reason and realism pleading for subordinating ideological conflicts to the preservation of peace.

5885

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BERLIN ANNIVERSARY PREPARATIONS SKETCHED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 42 No 5, May 87 (signed to press 14 Apr 87)
pp 394-396

[Article by Axel Blumentritt, member of the political staff of the SED's Berlin bezirk leadership: "The Historical Procession in Berlin's Anniversary Year"]

[Text] "Berliner Leben--Berlin erleben" [Berlin Alive--Berlin Experience], this invitation, tempting us from the capital's old and new advertisement pillars since the start of the year and announcing a whole wealth of events for the city anniversary, addresses an audience of millions on 4 July. The big historic parade, "750 Years Berlin," will pass along Unter den Linden, Karl Liebknecht Strasse, via Alexanderplatz, to the Karl Marx Allee and to Strausberger Platz.

For all who feel close to our socialist Berlin, more than 40,000 participants and innumerable helpers are about to set Berlin's volatile history in scene in a highly emotional manner. Pictures from the past and Berlin of today as the largest industrial city in the GDR, where production and science combine, the dynamic hub of our housing construction program, the sought after tourists' goal and cultural metropolis, Berlin as the juncture of revolutionary and humanistic traditions and as a place open to the world for political dialogue, for the grand coalition of reason and realism opposing the nuclear threat against mankind--all these facets will light up in this parade, and lest we forget the variety of colors all the GDR bezirks are putting in with their congratulations and greetings for the capital's anniversary.

The great readiness of the enterprises and cultural institutions, of the professional and amateur musicians, the youth association and the old-time friends of the General German Motor Sports Association, the craftsmen and the horseback riders, in short, of people from all social domains, to take part in this project, attests to our country's vivid and active interest in history. Inquiries sent to the sponsors, recommendations, and offers to participate express joie de vivre and the urge for discovery and design.

Our presence, our party policy, the prime goal of which is to care for the people and serve their benefit, produces, out of the sense of social comfort, and far beyond the circle of professional historians, a new rapport with the past, present, and future of our home territory. From out of this

wake mental stance, this vivid reality of socialism, comes that many citizens rediscover the material testimonials of the past and of the destinies of men acting in the different periods of history. The historical procession means to pay tribute to that by its own specific means.

What do the spectators expect? Some didactic history lesson it will not be. Nor will it be a painstaking rundown on historic events from three quarters of a millenium. Barely 300 pictures are not enough for that. Best, by comparison, perhaps is the intuition with which many thousand actors and directors from Berlin and the whole republic will bring to life, at the stroke of the city hall clock on 4 July, the frieze around the red city hall, burnt into stone, enriched the socialist way and extended into the most successful period of city history since the 8th party congress.

This stony chronicle on the facade of the city hall has for more than 100 years time and time again brought to the minds of generations of Berliners characters prominent in the city history and induced confrontations with them. All with so much effect that through the affecting participation by the population it could be re-erected even after the inferno of bombs when the rapacious war of the Nazi barbarians got back to their command center, leaving behind the red city hall as a ruin too on 18 March 1945.

When the new antifascist state power decided its reconstruction and only incomplete pictorial records could be found in the archives, the Berliners, combing their fotos and libraries, found what was missing, and in a new rapport with history we have been able to admire since, in new splendor, the work of the sculptors Calandrelli, Brodwolf, Geyer, and Schweinitz. That meanwhile there is so much that is new around the venerable city hall between the TV tower and the city hall concourses all the way to the Nicolai Quarter and the Marx-Engels Forum, which after centuries finally documents Berlin is the city of peace, has not reduced the attention to the pictorial chronicle, has in fact only integrated the histories and stories with the true course of history.

In the historical procession we shall encounter again many of the familiar figures--in flesh and blood, and in colors: the Ascanian and Hohenzollern princes, the robber knights of the von Quitzow family and the likes, the generals of the wars of liberation, the bourgeois reformers Stein and Hardenberg, the great humanistic thinkers Leibniz, Fichte, Hegel, the Humboldts and the Grimm Brothers, the Huguenots and Jews, the master architect Schlueter and the master musician Mendelssohn-Bartholdy. Yet who will take it amiss that all our sympathy goes to the plain working people: the butchers, fishwives and hucksters, the spinners, the mothers worried about the life of their children and the saucy urchin triumphantly snatching an apple on the market, those who had to build the Hohenzollern fortress and in the Berlin ill-will first reared up against the loss of hard-earned rights, and those who for remonstrating against oppressive rulers had to suffer torture and dungeons. All those--and of course the Berlin pictures by Heinrich Zille--we will find again alive. At the big folkfest on 4 July they will be in our midst. Yet the live march through the times that will pass through the Karl Liebknecht Strasse, separated from the red city hall only by the open squares before the TV tower, has more to offer. Not only because the old city hall frieze was completed already in 1879.

Of course, the student Karl Marx and the one-year volunteer bombardier Friedrich Engels are going to pass by their own monument, waving, and the fighters on the barricades in the great March days of 1848, represented by Heinrich Zinna and Wilhelm Glaserwald, are shown the honor they deserve. The city hall, in the castle courtyard, where the Prussian king had to bow down before the victims of the revolution, finds a place in history though the city's commissioners of the pictorial chronicle at the city hall pre-empted it. A desire for alliance between the bourgeoisie and the junkers, which did not make it, as we know. Already during Bismarck's anti-socialist laws, Paul Singer heading the first Social Democrats entered the city hall and lent the red color of the bricks for the first time a political importance. He belongs in our procession as much as Karl and Rosa Luxemburg and Ernst Thaelmann, whose names embody the struggle of our party as the trustees of the workers' human rights.

Political thought incentives are to evolve from the historical show in the 750th year after Symeon, the priest of Coelln and prior of Berlin, who was the first Berliner mentioned in a document with many seals and thus attests to the city's existence in writing. But above all, the historic optimism of many generations of fighters for the liberation of the people is to conjoin with the will to peace and the joie de vivre of today's Berliners.

The city chronicle, finally, has furnished attractions galore. "Do you have any notion of Berlin?" Otto Reutter asked in the 1920's. On 4 July everyone will be able to decide for himself whether he could affirm the question or only then found out how it was when astrologers, alchemists, quacks and jugglers were up to their mischief in the olden days, what the mood was when "the pleasure-boat finally arrived at the Schiffbauerdamm," to quote a current book title, when, as many thought, aerial navigation was needed, when the circus found its roof and the saurian its museum, when Waldooff blared her songs and Paul Lincke operetta-like anticipated the moon trip. And the mail-coaches, the first Berlin-Potsdam railroad, the horse-drawn omnibus, and Lilientals' glider will as little be omitted as Nante or the Captain of Kopenick.

Experts will find the latest pictures of our city history. The antifascist resistance fighters, the debris removers and reconstruction helpers, the first FDJ generation--they all are to recognize their achievements and find them appreciated by those who today, together with them, continue the reconstruction and bring to realization what our party had written on its banners from the outset: a society in which the free development of each is the condition for the free development of all. "Turned toward the future, socialist Berlin is rooted in the rich and manifold traditions of its 750-year history," as it is stated in the theses for the city's anniversary.

With this claim it is that the socialist metropolis represents itself in the second part of the festival procession. How the unity of economic and social policy since the 8th SED Congress made it blossom, for which the women and men of the first hour after Berlin's liberation by the Red Army paved the way--that radiates from these pictures in which the quality of life and the sense of life in our reality gain a mosaic-like contour. The 1973 World Festival for Youth and Students, international conferences and state visits, the

broad application of key technologies to enrich our life, the Berlin FDJ Initiative, through which the youth of the entire republic helped turn the "Berlin tempo" in housing construction into its trademark, are but a small selection of the mosaic chips. They and the many sides of ordinary life, showing the Berliner not only as an industrious and creative worker, but also as a dickey-bird, pet owner, musician and epicure, reflect what has been accomplished and move the ideas of the future into focus, the materialization of which depends on the safeguarding of peace.

The successes of the socialist GDR, apparent to everyone in Berlin, are as it were programmatic for a life in peace and for the readiness of each to do everything he can for this primary condition of life. What the bezirks are doing for it on their own will further underscore it. This unity between the big and the small gives an occasion for celebrating, for looking back, and for looking ahead with optimism. And not last, in the historical procession the proverbial Berlin humor shall act as a godparent.

5885

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MINISTRY CONTROL OF THEATER ARTS ASSOCIATION AWARDS REPORTED

Budapest KRITIKA in Hungarian No 1 1987 pp 15-16

[From speech given in October 1987 at a meeting of the Theater Arts Association by its first secretary, Laszlo Vamos; first two paragraphs are KRITIKA introduction]

[Excerpts] The Hungarian Theater Arts Association held its seventh general membership meeting for the election of officers on 13 October 1986 at the Vigado. Janos Berecz, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, and Gyorgy Vajda, deputy minister of culture, participated in and addressed the professional conference. The 459 people present at the day-long meeting represented the 889 theater actors; they discussed and adopted the report of the first secretary and the new modified bylaws and, in closing, elected the 37 member board of directors through a secret ballot. On 3 November, the board which now included 13 new members re-elected the directors of the association: Laszlo Vamos is again the first secretary, Ferenc Kallai is the president, and Miklos Szucs became the acting secretary.

In what follows we have published portions of the report of the first secretary and of the debates of the general membership meeting; our hope is that the ideas that were raised there could also contribute to giving the general public a more precise picture of the state of our theater arts and an understanding of the concerns of a branch of the arts. (Ed.)

The second theme with regard to the work of the board of directors is our role in awarding honors and prizes. I would like to clarify this. The board of directors receives the nominations from the local groups of the Association and then casts a secret ballot. We submit the names which receive the most votes to the ministry and publish them in the Association's newsletter. But this is *only one* [in italics] channel. In addition to this the individual theaters and directors of institutions are also obligated to send in their recommendations. In the last few years a greater percentage of the Association's nominees have been selected than in the past which is also a sign of better cooperation with the supervisory organizations and the result of much lobbying or, in many cases, its lack of success. Unfortunately, this year it was precisely the Association's leading nominee for the Outstanding Performer award and the Jasza Prize who fell out of the running--for some inexplicable reason. By the same token, every year there are winners whose

names did not even get a single vote in the secret balloting. In these situations the prestige of the board is seriously damaged. For myself, I get a good feeling when we were successful in refocusing attention on many, truly worthy elderly performers--often in their twilight years--whom we are likely to forget. And I am filled with sadness that year after year I continue to lobby unsuccessfully on behalf of more than 15 names. I will not give up my efforts because I believe that the title of Artist of Merit is primarily due for the accomplishments of a career spanning several decades. Zoltan Maklary once remarked about someone in his own acerbic way: "Did he became an artist of merit? Why? Is it because he performed well for two seasons?" By this, of course, he do not wish to say that totally exceptional talents which define the limits of the profession should not be permitted to receive this type of awards at a young age. But year after year the guilt inducing list grows... Neither Latinovits or Oze were awarded the Kossuth Prize. Edit Domjan, Rita Bekes, Agnes Hegedus, Rudolf Somogyvari, Erno Szenasi, Laszlo Banhidi, Arpad Gyenge were not named Artists of Merit, and I could go on...This list could only grow...Once, just once it should be stopped.

Despite the above mentioned fiascoes we may, with a clear conscience, say that we have good relations with the party and state leadership and with the union. In most instances, our opinions were sought out before the most important decisions were made, that is to say that consultations were not rejected if we were the initiators. The supervisory organizations turn to the Association especially during the period before the general membership meeting and in the time following the election of the new board of directors. It would be good if these short periods of time between membership meetings could be extended for four to five years. There was also a decision--it is not difficult to guess which one I'm referring to (it starts with K and ends with ecskemet)--which was adopted despite all of our opinions opposing it. The unfortunate matter has passed away in even less time than had been anticipated.

It was expensive, but worth it. It so happens that there are, after all, financial resources for the theater and for culture--even on an advance basis--if a "good matter" is at issue...We want the same treatment for less good matters even if funding is after the fact...

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DEFENSE COMMITTEE MEETINGS HELD, REPORTED

Economic Growth in Exports

Bydgoszcz GAZETA POMORSKA in Polish 21 Apr 87 pp 1,2

[Text] The 17 April meeting of the Voivodship Defense Committee (WKO) in Torun was devoted to a discussion of the potential and current needs of commercial trade and the establishment of companies with foreign partners, mainly from the CEMA countries. Marian Orzechowski, Politburo member and minister of foreign affairs, took part in the meeting. Others who attended the meeting, which was conducted by the chairman of the voivodship committee (VC), Stanislaw Trokowski, included Zenon Draminski, first secretary of the PZPR VC; Tadeusz Kasinski, vice president of the ZSL SC; Wieslaw Korthals, chairman of the voivodship people's council; Gen Div Zbigniew Blechman, commander, Polish Military Organization; Stanislaw Stanislawski, representative of the minister of foreign trade; and the management staff of the industrial plants--leading exporters in Torun voivodship.

One percent of domestic export comes from Torun voivodship, and 70 percent of its enterprises are involved in it. The voivodship authorities attach a great deal of importance to the development of economic foreign cooperation, said Andrzej Wietrzykowski, PZPR VC [Voivodship Committee] secretary. The socioeconomic development program to the year 1990 provides for a 1.5-fold growth of export. It should grow especially in the electronics, electrical engineering, chemical, light and food industries.

But an expansion of cooperation, especially with the CEMA countries to which the voivodship's economy is closely tied, requires improvement in the quality and modernity of products, and changes in the structure of production from the standpoint of export requirements. The reserves which must be utilized lie in the development of direct contacts between plants, in the joint production of modern products, and in the establishment of companies with the participation of foreign partners, including partners from the USSR. There is legal basis for this in the agreements signed by the Polish and Soviet governments. The initiative of the Torun electronics industry, by which concepts of cooperation with partners from the USSR have already been defined, is a valuable example in this area.

In the opinion of the enterprise representatives, materials and coproduction difficulties have not helped to develop export. The fear was also expressed that the present economic mechanisms may not be sufficiently cohesive to have a favorable effect on the broad development of foreign cooperation of independent enterprises. Sources for expansion of export should be sought also among small and medium plants. It was underscored that enterprises are interested in direct contacts with USSR and CEMA-country partners. But the necessary information is needed, and assistance in establishing the first contacts. More initiative is expected from the foreign trade office than in the past.

For the first time, said minister Marian Orzechowski, WKO is concerned with such a politically and economically important problem. The development of export and foreign cooperation must be tied to the requirements of the second stage of reform. Cooperation with the USSR creates a vast, insufficiently utilized potential, and the present climate of our partnership relations, sanctioned by government agreements, is conducive to the development of export.

WKO has defined a number of proposals requiring enterprises to establish export-oriented production and has also addressed some proposals, of a general nature, to the central authorities with suggestions on how to develop foreign cooperation.

The WKO members heard a report on the status of safety and public order in Torun voivodship during the first quarter of this year as presented by the head of the Voivodship Office of Internal Affairs, Col Stanislaw Lukasiak, and approved the courses of action outlined therein.

Lodz on Patriotic-Defense Training

Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 21 Apr 87 p 2

[Text] At a meeting of the Voivodship Defense Committee (WKO) in Lodz on 17 April 1987 a resolution was passed on appointing a task force to educate society on patriotic-defense matters, with particular attention to youth.

Miroslaw Czesny, PZPR Lodz Committee secretary and assistant chairman of the WKO for patriotic defense matters, was appointed head of this task force. The task force is made up of representatives of political organizations, the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth, the state administration, social organizations, veterans organizations, trade unions, youth organizations, and the mass media.

The task force was appointed based on the guidelines issued by the PZPR CC first secretary and chairman of the National Defense Committee, Wojciech Jaruzelski.

Next, an assessment was made of defense preparations in the area of the Rzgow gmina. The suggestions submitted by chief Ryszard Zajda were approved for implementation.

Reports on the results of recruitment to professional military schooling and on defense training in organizational units in Lodz voivodship were received and approved.

The sociopolitical situation and the status of law and public order in the voivodship was assessed and the resultant suggestions were approved for implementation.

The WKO meeting was conducted by Jaroslaw Pietrzyk and was attended by the chairman of the People's Council in Lodz City, Prof Mieczyslaw Serwinski.

Defense, National Security Issues

Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 22 Apr 87 p 5

[Text] On 21 April, with Gen Arms Jozef Uzycki, chief of the Polish Army general staff and deputy minister of national defense, and Col Tadeusz Wilecki, chief of staff of the Silesian Military District, in attendance, a meeting of the WKO in Czestochowa was held. The status of state security in the voivodship was assessed, as well as the planning and implementation of services on behalf of defense, and the execution of tasks for the peaceful augmentation of the armed forces.

WKO passed the pertinent resolutions on all of the matters discussed at the meeting. Jerzy Sypek, PZPR VC first secretary took part in the meeting, which was conducted by the WKO chairman, Grzegorz Lipowski.

Economizing Programs Discussed

Gdansk DZIENNIK BALTYCKI in Polish 28 Apr 87 pp 1,2

[Text] A meeting of WKO was held in Elblag. The subject of the debate was an assessment of the results of economical management in enterprises. Past achievements in this area, which at this time have been determined through estimates because the criteria for assessment on the central level are not yet uniform, have put Elblag voivodship in 18th place in the country. These results are based on power resources, for example, 8,000 tons of standard fuel saved during the winter thanks to use of suitable mixtures by the WPEC, and many other savings, achieved within the framework of plant thrift programs. If they are to bring about the envisaged results, i.e., an increase in production, 50 percent of which was attributed to savings, we must sharpen technological discipline in the voivodship's enterprises. We should also establish incentives to motivate employees to economize, and introduce institutional measures to serve this purpose, e.g., expand local industry to process the raw materials saved into secondary materials.

The status of health in the voivodship was also evaluated, pointing out that despite insufficient hospital facilities and lack of personnel, particularly bedside, large improvement in hygiene in the health services was achieved.

The next matter brought up was the problem of using the financial resources allocated for protection of the natural environment in the voivodship.

The WKO accepted the reports presented together with the suggestions made during the discussion and supplemented them with further recommendations.

Civil Defense Measures

Rzeszow NOWINY in Polish 28 Apr 87pp 1,2

[Text] This time the Rzeszow WKO held its meeting in the Rzeszow City Hall, i.e. this was a field meeting. It evaluated the implementation of civil defense tasks required by legal regulations. It also viewed the practical exhibits of selected civil defense elements in the Rzeszow PZL Transportation Equipment Plant (WSK), the Unified Hospital, the Food-Industry School Group, KPKS Chapter 2, MZBM and ZZSD PREDOM-ZELMER.

The meeting, conducted by Henryk Ficek, Rzeszow voivode, was attended by Franciszek Karp, first secretary of the PZPR VC in Rzeszow, and the hosts of the town. During the course of the meeting, the head director of WSK in Rzeszow, Henryk Trzesicki, was awarded the "National Defense Merit Medal."

Youth Historical Awareness Featured

Zielona Gora GAZETA LUBUSKA in Polish 28 Apr 87 pp 1,2

[Text] Historical Exhibit Rooms play an important role in the teaching and upbringing of youth. In Gorzow Voivodship there are 28 of them in the primary schools, 3 in the secondary schools and, in addition, the young people take care of 13 permanent exhibits. The mementos, photographs, diaries, tapes of recollections and journals, document the martyrdom of the Polish nation during the Nazi occupation. The rooms are most often supervised by the Polish Scouts troops in cooperation with the Union of Fighters for Freedom and Democracy clubs and representatives of the Polish Peoples Army. The rooms in Santok and Slonsk are the best.

The WKO in Gorzow at yesterday's meeting heard reports on the functioning of the school historical rooms. In the recommendations made, the need to make constant use of these rooms in teaching the contemporary history of the country and the region and in arranging commemorative ceremonies, and to make the exhibits more available to tourists, was emphasized.

The reports materials for the next meeting of the WKO, which will be devoted to an assessment of the implementation of the PZPR CC and National Defense Committee guidelines on the patriotic-defense upbringing of youth, were discussed. The WKO also approved a report on the state of public security and the struggle against crime during the first quarter of the year.

Following last year's example, soldiers of the Polish People's Army will help in reclamation work in 1987. From May to the end of September, 670 soldiers will do this work and it is expected that 9.4 km of rivers and canals will be put in order, reclamation ditches will be rebuilt on 640 hectares of arable land and meadows, and 2,811 hectares of croplands will be farmed after reclamation. WKO familiarized itself with the organization and scope of work being done for farming in the region, work which will be done by soldiers.

WKO also heard a report on the results of economy measures being undertaken in the voivodship. Thus far, workplaces and state administration institutions and offices have relinquished 31 automobiles, 34.5 drivers positions, and 110 telephones, which will be turned over for public use.

The meeting was conducted by the WKO chairman, voivode Stanislaw Nowak. Wiktor Kinecki, first secretary of the PZPR VC, was present.

Military School Recruitment

Opole TRYBUNA OPOLSKA in Polish 29 Apr 87 p 2

[Text] The main topic at yesterday's meeting of the WKO, under the chairmanship of Kazimierz Dzierzan, Opole voivode, was a report on recruitment of candidates to military schools. As indicated in the report, this year there were far fewer applicants than in 1986. Judging this situation to be unsatisfactory, WKO is requiring all organizations and units responsible for recruitment to intensify their efforts with a view to correcting it.

Next, the WKO members heard a report on the first days of conscription to the army this year. It was determined that generally conscription is proceeding correctly. But ideological work with youth eligible for conscription must be improved.

The WKO members also acquainted themselves with the work that the army is doing for farming in the voivodship.

Eugeniusz Mroz, PZPR VC first secretary, was present at the meeting.

Anticrime Efforts Noted

Krakow GAZETA KRAKOWSKA in Polish 30 Apr-1 May 87 p 4

[Text] The WKO in Nowy Sacz at its regular meeting heard a report on the actions being taken to institute an anti-crime program in the largest industrial plants in this area: the Railroad Rolling Stock Repair Shops Nowy Sacz, Glinik Gorlice, and NZPS Podhale Nowy Targ. It was determined that there are never enough preventive and upbringing measures. It was recommended that the Misdemeanor Courts issue more jail sentences, consisting of compulsory supervised unpaid labor for the community at the place where the person was arrested.

May 1 Celebration Appeal

Gdansk GLOS WYBRZEZA in Polish 30 Apr-1 May 87 pp 1,2

[Text] Traditionally, just as each year prior to 1 May, the WKO in Gdansk met with the rectors of the higher teaching institutions and the representatives of the largest workplaces in the Tri-City.

The leadership of the voivodship party echelons, the other political parties, the Voivodship Peoples Council, and UW, also was present at the meeting.

The WKO acquainted itself with the organizational plans of the Voivodship 1 May Observance Committee and the status of preparations for the observance of Labor Day in Gdansk voivodship.

We will observe this year's holiday on the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the 45th anniversary of the formation of the Polish Workers Party. We observe them under the slogans: the struggle to maintain peace, intensify national accord, strengthen socialism in Poland, tighten the bonds of international solidarity among working people throughout the world.

The WKO is requiring the municipal services, transportation and trade, and those responsible for safety, law and order, to see to it that their subordinate organizations function properly in order to ensure the safe and orderly participation of the people in the Gdansk area in the Labor Day observances.

The dignified observance of this holiday through the universal participation of the Gdansk people will be proof of our desire to take an active part in surmounting the daily problems which still exist and establishing a process of political and economic stabilization. Active and large participation in Civic Social Action will be a confirmation of this.

The WKO calls upon all residents of Gdansk Voivodship to participate en masse in the parades, ceremonies, and rallies connected with observance of Labor Day. We should also see to it that the towns, countryside and workplaces are appropriately decorated.

The WKO evaluated the status of the work of the commissions appointed in towns and gminas for the purpose of instituting economizing measures and disciplining the organizational structure in state administration offices, budgetary organizations, enterprises, social and cooperative organizations, and to make an inspection of their technical equipment.

As a result of the work of these commissions, the use of 159 city cars and 474 city telephones will be verified.

The WKO is requiring the town and gmina commissions and the leadership of enterprises and cooperative organizations to work more intensively in order to fulfill the tasks assigned to the local authorities by the Council of Ministers in a timely and complete manner.

The WKO heard a report on the current situation in agriculture, including the availability of means of production and the status of spring work.

Next on the agenda a Voivodship Patriotic-Defense Public Education Committee was appointed, with particular consideration to youth, and the implementation of civil defense tasks by the voivodship's health service was examined.

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WORKER, MANAGEMENT DIFFERING VIEWS OF SOCIALISM

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Apr - 1 May 87 p 4

[Article by Professor Leszek Gilejko, director, Working Class Research Institute, PZPR Academy of Social Sciences: "Enfranchisement of a Class -- Chances and Barriers"]

[Text] Everyone knows that the working class is the largest group in our society. There is enough proof of that to emphasize the importance of the working class and know that a great deal depends on the attitudes of behavior of this segment of society. After all, our society is supposed to be a socialist collective. This makes the working class all the more important because as experience has shown us, it is most closely associated with the basic values of socialism.

The prosocialist orientation of the Polish working class or at least the majority of the working class is a fact that has been empirically proven and what is even more important, even in the most difficult moments of past years, workers demonstrated their support for the ideals of socialism. Therefore, if our society is to become a more socialist one, it cannot achieve that goal without giving the working class a greater role in that process. The growth in the working class's public role is one of the basic measures of the growth of socialism and as experience has shown, it is a much more important standard of progress in this area than the full socialization of business or industry.

Within the working class, the largest and most important groups are the workers employed in industry, agriculture and construction and therefore in those sectors of the economy which continue to have a decisive influence on the growth of the country. A great deal depends on the workers as producers and that is another reason for strengthening their social position. Modern workers are not only supposed to work but also wish to influence the production process, the principles for the distribution of income and the making of economic decisions. The working class strongly supports self-management and that is very important in attaining the desired dynamics of economic growth. This creates a great opportunity for the economic, reform and for our society as well as for our center of government. The essential

problem is only to use this opportunity so that it will go to waste as it has unfortunately been wasted in the past.

This orientation toward self-management is therefore an opportunity but may also become a barrier if people incirably sickened by bureaucracy resist this opportunity instead of take advantage of it. The whole issue rests with the prosocialist orientation of the working class.

As recent events and numerous studies have shown, the worker's image of socialism is a very specific one and it is not the same one other groups hold. The worker's image of socialism has always included values such as social justice and even egalitarianism, work as the basis for social recognition and human dignity, democracy in the sense of greater worker participation in decision-making and the independence of worker organizations. Other groups such as specialists and especially managers have a different image of socialism which places greater emphasis on rationality and efficiency, career opportunities for individuals, personal freedom, considerable differences in income and technocracy rather than democratic self-management.

Economic problems such as those that we now must resolve dictate the need to search for optimal variants and to bring these two images of socialism closer together. The reconciliation of these two images cannot consist solely of egalitarian values but must also address certain social differences that undermine the worker's idea of social justice. At least a majority of workers have never believed in any extreme form of egalitarianism. They supported wage differentiations and according to studies, have tended to support even greater differences under the condition that they be based on universally accepted principles. These principles include real work and the usefulness of an individual's activities rather than "connections", scheming or privileges granted for obedience. Socialism has not at all exhausted its possibilities for motivating good work through good wages. Unfortunately, it has not begun to apply that principle and workers feel that their wages are determined more by "connections" than by good work. No one knows for sure whether this state of affairs has been one of the causes of the labor crisis that stirred up so much alarm and controversy. Of course, the workers themselves, or at least those who have had something to gain, have also had a hand in the establishment of these connections and that is one reason why such arrangements have persisted.

Like all other social groups, the working class has its own internal differences. The above-mentioned problem of payment for work and the workers' attitude toward that issue is the best proof of these differences. The pro-self-management or pro-reform orientation of the working class does not automatically imply that all workers have the same views and needs. Studies have shown that many workers also support centralized management and many others also feel that it is not important who manages as long as they do it well.

However, the bulk of the working class supports self-management and reform.

Nationwide studies among industrial workers have shown that most support self-management and nearly half are in favor of economic reform which they regard as a necessity. The remainder are either indifferent to reform or oppose it and this proportion seems to correspond to that found in other social groups. One finds similar orientations among specialists with higher educations while fewer management personnel on all levels support self-management and reform.

Under Polish conditions with the growing multi-sector economy, the working class has preserved its own particular interests which to a considerable degree are the product of its position as employees rather than managers. Blue-collar work is very hard. It requires considerable physical effort and often involves some risk of bodily harm. In spite of the increasing wages of the last few years, worker families still receive some of the lowest incomes. That is why the working class has preserved its particular interests that do not coincide with those of other groups. Workers know that and more often perceive the differences between themselves and peasants and other groups of specialists. There is also a strong feeling that workers and managers have different interests although it is also acknowledged that these differences are not as they were at the end of the 1970's and the start of the 1980's. These characteristics of the working class have projected themselves onto its image of socialism and are especially manifested in that class's sensitivity to social justice. This particularism can also have negative properties, especially in the differentiation of wages. It makes itself most clearly felt in the conditions for real action to restructure the economy and change preferences. These conditions have been emerging for decades and created various interest groups that are now playing a very important role in social and political life.

The basis for forming a new balance of forces within the working class and taking the lead in reform and self-management is the creation of conditions that favor realization of the working class's aspirations for greater social power. This is true of the entire class whose more or less two million members feel a need for such power. Its main premise is the dignity of labor. The dignity of work and working people is a universal need and all frustrations of that need cause aggression and pathological behavior. Another universal expression of the need for enfranchisement is the continued steady support for the idea of exclusively worker organizations meaning those that above all represent the needs and interests of workers. When asked whether they should have their own, exclusive worker organizations, the overwhelming majority (78 percent) of workers polled in 1981 gave a positive response. It is interesting that the same view was held by 75 percent of the rest of society. It is felt that such an organization should above all be the trade unions but self-management was also mentioned despite the fact that it was well known that the latter is an organ of management. It is an extremely important matter to give the trade unions a chance to become worker organizations above all. And finally, the need for worker enfranchisement is also expressed by the support for worker self-management expressed above all by the most highly-qualified and experienced workers.

In all of these areas, worker advancement is regarded as a means of satisfying their desire for power and not as something that conflicts with the interests of other social groups. It is an important measure of social progress and the very essence of the general condition of society and its rational functioning because it is not only the proper organizational structures, division of labor, economic efficiency, procedure or values that make a society efficient.

Worker enfranchisement is impossible without the proper systems for articulating and representing the interests of great social groups and the creation of the right conditions for participation by all who wish to become involved. The correct systems will allow the continuation of the historical mission of the modern proletariat whose importance was so strongly emphasized by the creators of scientific communism.

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SELF-MANAGEMENT SEMINAR TOUCHES ON OWNERSHIP ISSUE

Warsaw ZYCIE GOSPODARCZE in Polish No 19, 10 May 87 p 8

[Article by Krystyna Pawlowicz: "Reform Stage II -- Self-Management and Self-Managing"]

[Text] Issues concerning worker self-management during the second stage of economic reform were the subject of the latest seminar held on 29 April by the Institute of Working-Class Studies of the Academy of Social Sciences and the Council of State's Center for Self-Management Studies.

An introductory report was read by Professor Ludwik Bar who presented problems in the present functioning of employee self-management. He also mentioned recent questions about the organizational and legal form of worker self-management and its role within a state-owned enterprise. Should self-management by the employees of an enterprise be recognized as a voluntary organization which can but does not necessarily have to be created at the will of the workers or should the idea of obligatory self-management be defended as an integral part of state enterprises?

Professor Bar stressed that in practice, workers may be subject to various forms of discouragement from internal organs and may therefore decide against self-management in their enterprise. This can only be prevented by making worker self-management obligatory. Furthermore, our constitution and principles of government actually dictate an approach which regards an enterprise's employees as its co-managers. Defense of obligatory self-management is in the public interest. The decision to establish self-management is one that cannot depend on the diversely-influenced will of the workers in the given firm.

The speaker stated that, in his opinion, theme 17 of the "Directions for Economic Reform" has not been fully realized. Only the 1981 laws on state enterprises and worker self-management have been loyal to the principles of reform. Later laws and decrees have tended to deviate to an increasing degree from the ideas of self-management expressed by theme 17 of "Directions".

In the speaker's opinion, "Themes on the Second Stage of Economic Reform" general praised the activities of self-management (themes 9, 25 and 70) but contain too few practical and concrete proposals for the future. More specific ideas only concern the creation of self-management organs in firms and certain forms of self-management participation in planned groups of enterprises. These proposals do not exhaust all of the possibilities nor do they implement any of the more important provisions of the "Directions for Reform".

The speaker proposed that the following be included among the proposals for themes of the reform stage II: legal regulation of the activities of worker self-management in the Polish State Railroads and forestry enterprises, changing the law on the Polish Posts, Telegraphs and Telephones in order to introduce elements of self-management and changing the Council of Ministers' orders on the registration of enterprises so that courts making a ruling would not be in doubt as to whether they should informally study issues such as the holding of competitions for director's positions and the correctness of the competition procedure.

In conclusion, the speaker encouraged self-management representatives to actively participate in the finalizing work on the program for reform stage II and to submit their own recommendations and conclusions.

Representatives of enterprise management, worker's councils and of academia participated in the discussion that followed this report. The report's assessment of the realia of self-management received the full approval of the seminar participants. Everyone also agreed that the "Themes" were too general about self-management.

There was also pointed out the need to better distinguish the concepts of self-management and participation. Self-management is evident whenever the workers have the right to make strategic decisions on all matters of concern to the enterprise. Participation differs in that it concerns only a narrow range of powers and someone other than the director has the chief decision-making power.

Because the "Themes" have given such vague proposals for creating management chambers, there is now some doubt as to what these chambers are supposed to be. Are they supposed to be regional monopolies that replace the branch monopolies? Professor Bar explained that the plan for creating management chambers originated with the enterprises. According to the bill submitted to the Economic Reform Commission, the chambers would be an association of various types of enterprises, cooperatives and people's councils, etc. that would represent these establishments and coordinate their activities within a given region with organs of government. However, it is also necessary to defend the independence of enterprises and prevent the chambers from being turned into administrative bodies that make decisions for the enterprises. Cooperation with the chambers must also be voluntary.

The seminar participants discussed the difficult and unresolved question of ownership. The presently visible return to the idea of communal ownership (which was described by the "Theses") will make it possible to address the problem of enterprise ownership in the future. The new concept of ownership is being discussed in the work to update the civil code.

The functions of the founder's organ in management and in relation to the enterprise has been recognized as needing new regulation in both the "Theses" and in the seminar discussion. The discussion participants felt that there is a need to separate supervisory functions from the administration of state property. In practice, these two functions overlap and that has given the founder's organs considerably more opportunities to influence the problems handled by the enterprise, self-management and the director.

The participants also discussed the problem of creating an effective system for the legal and political protection of persons active in self-management organs. It was also acknowledged that it is necessary to consider the numerous ways in which self-management can participate in the discussion of the "Themes". Another meeting of worker self-management representatives was proposed.

At the end of the seminar, Professor Ludwik Bar made another appeal for the active participation and proposals of worker councils in the discussion of the "Themes". The final version of the "Themes" will only contain the sort of premises and conclusions that we would like to implement if self-management is as actively involved in discussions as it was in the case of the 11 laws updated last year.

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PZPR SEMINAR ON YOUTH ACTIVISM, PERSONNEL POLICY

Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 28 Apr 87 p 2

[Article by W.T.: "National Symposium in Warsaw -- the Promotion of Young Personnel"]

[Text] (Own service) One of the determinants of the PZPR's present personnel policy can be expressed by saying that putting a stake in youth is betting on their energy, innovation and ambition. If young people want to advance themselves and have full opportunities to do so, what is holding them back from assuming independent positions of leadership? The subject of the two-day symposium in Warsaw was "Youth in the Personnel Policy of the PZPR."

Wladyslaw Honkisz, the director of the PZPR Central Committee's Department of Personnel Policy and also one of the symposium's co-organizers, opened the meeting by recalling the party's personnel principles. The promotion of young personnel is an especially important direction of that policy and one which also will determine the process of change in our country and especially how we meet the personnel requirements made by the second stage of economic reform. Unconventional thinking, initiative and enterprise are the privileges of young people and also the trumps of economic reform. It is important that these qualities be put to full use.

Do young people want advancement? Studies have shown that only 6.2 percent of youth place any value on promotion into management positions. Another study conducted in 1984 showed that only 1.8 percent of young people were interested in promotion. Is this a lack of ambition or a sign of difficulties in fulfilling one's wishes for advancement? These are hard questions but it is important to find answers. Reality shows us that the second case is most probably what has caused this lack of interest. Jerzy Swiderski, the director of the PZPR Central Committee Department of Youth, Physical Education and Tourism, spoke about this in his report. Young people continue to be an extra consideration in promotion policy and the old habits are hard to break.

Another no less important question is whether the process of cultivating the proper personality traits in the young generation and shaping the way youth

think and react has met the needs of an efficient personnel model. Symposium participants including Aleksander Kwasniewski, minister of youth affairs, pointed out certain shortcomings in this area. Schools have still been unable to bring out and direct talents and often induce youth to conform. In their work environment, the youngest and most talented workers lose their ambition and settle for mediocrity. The symposium concluded that we are therefore steadily losing talented people.

The realization of the new principles of personnel policy on youth must therefore be based on extensive educational work, practice in the place of work and in overcoming routine thinking and reactions. The problems of our time require us to bet on leaders whose energy and innovation should pave the way to progress. Most often, these potential virtues are lost in youth.

The first day of the symposium was attended by Politburo Member Zygmunt Muranski.

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PZPR YOUTH PERSONNEL SEMINAR CONCLUDES, REPORTED

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 29 Apr 87 p 3

[Article by (Waj.): "Conclusion of the Symposium 'Youth in the PZPR Personnel Policy' — To Regularly Let Them Loose in Deep Water"]

[Text] "The wiser is not the one who has experienced more but he who has more quickly drawn the right conclusions." This idea was called to mind at the symposium "Youth in the PZPR Personnel Policy" which ended on 28 April. The second day of discussions was also attended by Politburo Member Zygmunt Muranski.

The first and second days of discussion were both dominated by two issues, one of which was the way to horizontal and vertical advancement for youth. It was found during the symposium that the concept of advancement is not clearly and unequivocally understood and therefore, the chairman of the group that organized the symposium, Professor Bronislaw Ratus, prorector of the Social Sciences Academy, said that these problems should be scientifically studied along with everything that concerns the reserve of personnel. Everyone agreed in their assessment of the basic personnel document, the "Chief Premises for PZPR Personnel Policy" and the PZPR Central Committee resolution of last May and all stressed the systematic character of these two documents. However, everyone also felt that this was a good system with no practical means of implementation. In all forms of work, there should be one clear criterium and that is whether the job is a good one and which of the good ones is best. In the opinion of symposium participants, this principles would open the way to advancement for young workers. It was therefore asked why we should "catch the good ones" if there will later be no place for them.

Good examples of youthful personnel could be found among many of the young people who came from all over Poland to attend the symposium, young people who hold managerial positions in various areas of economic life, government and the party.

Politburo Member Zygmunt Muranski also spoke up during the discussions. He reminded those present that party documents clearly advocate giving leadership

to young people and to those open to innovation and technical and organizational progress. "For young people," he said, "we will only seem credible when we fulfill our duties. For that reason, the party's personnel policy should not remain an issue for the leadership alone but, in accordance with statutory requirements, it must be implemented everywhere that party members are found. An essential role should also be played by youth organizations that show greater initiative in leading our young people.

"Young people should grow and be promoted by giving them ever harder tasks to perform," said Z. Muranski. "They must put in their work and earn their advancement through what they achieve". In response to some of the first statements made during the discussion, he said that young people are really an opportunity for reform as much as reform is an opportunity for them. We cannot waste this human wealth and talent.

The symposium was attended by Wladyslaw Honkisz, director of the Central Committee Department of Personnel Policy, and Jerzy Swiderski, director of the Department of Youth, Physical Education and Tourism.

The second day of the symposium was chaired by Professor Jan Bogusz, the director of the Institute for the Study of the Problems of Youth.

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REGIONAL PZPR SEMINAR ON BASIC PARTY ORGANIZATIONS

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 14 Apr 87 p 2

[Article by (ka): "Seminar in the Interprovincial Party School -- the Basic Party Organization in the Party and Action Environment"]

[Text] Lodz. The title of this article was taken from the subject of an hours-long meeting of party officials from the basic and factory party organizations in the provinces of the central macro-region: Lodz, Piotrkow Trybunalski, Plock, Sieradz and Skierniewice.

The seminar's participants heard 7 reports before they began discussion. As it was later said, these reports gave very important information that was useful to future party work.

Discussion participants did not at all "echo" the ideas of the reports but rather presented their own views. Ryszard Bystronski, the leader of the PZPR organization at the Piotrkow Furniture Factory, pointed out that social activists are too dependent on the will of directors and also stated that the representatives of founder's organs disregard independent basic party organizations and even the factory PZPR committees and instead take their problems to the director's office.

"Everyone in the rural areas counts on our basic party organization," said Comrade Stolecki of Sieradz Province. That is because we are doing something concrete for them. For example, on our own initiative, we built 8 miles of connecting roads for combines to reach local fields. We have now begun to build a people's home...This movement and continual activity has attracted the people's support."

Lucyna Nazarow of Lodz spoke about the concern for the quality of new members: "In spite of the party's continuing difficult situation, we should not placing great demands on our members because that is the only way we can make our basic party organizations strong. They will be strong with the strength of their members."

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PZPR CC INTERNAL AFFAIRS ON REFORM REALITIES, ACTIVISM

Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 10 Apr 87 p 2

[Article by Anna Pawlowska: "From the Work of Central Committee Commissions -- Ever Closer to the Basic Party Organizations"]

[Text] The subject of the 9 April meeting of the Central Committee Commission on Interparty Affairs and Party Activities in Representative Organs and State Government was a preliminary working draft of a report and the premises for work on a resolution by the upcoming 4th Central Committee Plenum. The commission chairman, Politburo Member and Central Committee Secretary Jozef Baryla, opened the meeting by saying that he has already that the basic party organizations [POP] are already preparing for the upcoming plenum.

All of the POP's have already finished the first phase of meetings dedicated to the Politburo Themes, thousands of POP first secretaries have participated in various forms of consultation and opinions are being exchanged in the pages of the party press. An important role in these preparations has been played by the Politburo's Bydgoszcz meetings with members of the party's leadership in that province's POP's. We are now seeing the second phase of POP meetings which are including representatives of the central and local governments. The party organizations are concentrating most of their attention on economic problems in the second stage of economic reform and questions about the review of organizational structures and job certification. The results from widespread individual conversations preceding the 10th Party Congress are also being analyzed. With no trace of exaggeration, we can perhaps say that the Central Committee plenum on the POP's has been to a large degree prepared by the POP's themselves.

All of the meeting's participants mentioned the value of the preparations to date. Many of them stressed the need to maintain a legible connection between the 3rd (economic) Plenum and the coming plenum because economics will long be the chief field of action of the POP's. There was also some opinion expressed at the meeting. The first secretary of the Wloclawek Provincial PZPR Committee expressed the opinion of worker party organizations that "reform has been stopped in its tracks in Warsaw". Other speakers appealed for a clear party stance on the matter of the "results of the first stage". This made all the more significant the information provided by the first secretary of the Plock Provincial PZPR Committee that the POP in the combine factory has used its party influence to get their cooperative firms to considerably improve the quality of 5 out of 9 combine parts whose quality had

been insufficient up to then. There was also some less optimistic news from that same province: most of the POP first secretaries invited by the provincial committee to consult on materials prepared for the 4th Plenum stated that they themselves did not know how much authority they had within their establishments.

Much attention was given to an evaluation of the rural POP's. Representatives of the agricultural provinces defended these POP's against accusations of weakness by pointing out that small organizations do not have to be weak any more than the large ones must necessarily be strong. The first secretary of the Warsaw PZPR Committee spoke about the place and rank of the regional party organizations. The first secretary of the Walbrzych committee got right down to the point of the matter by saying that all POP's, both small and large, in all communities and under all conditions, are equally important to the party as a whole. There was also some discussion of the extent of possible and useful limitations to party reports and this also led to the problem of where to get the quickest and most reliable party information.

There was also some question as to how critical the prepared plenum should be and whether it is necessary to cover up the existing weaknesses in the work of the POP's. The commission responded that the party today is strong enough that it does not have to hide its shortcomings.

One cannot but express surprise at the fact that one youth activist did not say anything at all about the report draft's suggestion to take away the right of youth circles to recommend their members for party membership.

In order of appearance, the speakers were: Jozef Nowak, first secretary of the Walbrzych Provincial PZPR Committee; Artur Kwiatkowski, a farmer from Wloclawek Province; Tadeusz Wysocki, a foreman from the Nowotko Machine Works in Warsaw; Janusz Kubasiewicz, deputy Politburo member and first secretary of the Warsaw PZPR Committee; Sejm Deputy Elzbieta Rutkowska; Professor Adolf Dobieszewski; Marek Pabian, department director at Budopol in Wroclaw; Wladyslaw Honkisz, director of the Central Committee Personnel Policy Department; Henryk Kazmierczyk, a foreman from the Eltra Radio Works in Bydgoszcz; Adam Bartosiak, first secretary of the Plock Provincial PZPR Committee; Czeslaw Borowski, foreman from the Adamow Electrical Power Plant; Stanislaw Kalkus, foreman from the Hiram Cegielski Machine Works in Poznan; Krystian Luczak, first secretary of the Wroclaw Provincial PZPR Committee; Kazimierz Janik, vice-chairman of the National Directorate of the Union of Rural Youth; Zdzislaw Daniluk, first secretary of the Swidnik Municipal PZPR Committee and Stanislaw Gabrielski, director of the Central Committee Political-Organizational Department.

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FACTORY SECRETARY ON SOLIDARITY RISE, CURRENT NORMALIZATION

Warsaw PROBLEMY POKOJU I SOCJALIZMU in Polish No 4, Apr 87 pp 27-31

[Article by Wiktor Borcuch, first secretary of the PZPR Committee at the Lenin Shipyards in Gdansk: "The Gdansk Shipyards -- How Workers Cut Themselves Off From Solidarity"]

[Text] In the years of political crisis in Poland, the Gdansk Shipyards, one of the country's largest enterprises, became a base for antisocialist forces and this was where Solidarity was most active in creating mass alarm. How are things today, how have communists restored the party's authority among workers and how are they working to regain their trust? This topic was discussed by Wiktor Borcuch in a conversation with one of the editors of PROBLEMY POKOJU I SOCJALIZMU.

[Wiktor Borcuch] Even now, people ask me how it came to pass that the shipyards which have been for so many years recognized as the symbol of socialist Poland's achievements became the place in which the enemies of our social order organized their chief center of activities. People are also interested in the present situation at the shipyards and its plans. From the predominant atmosphere at the shipyards, many people try to determine how deep runs the process of changes started in our country and whether we party members are aware of the tasks we must solve for our country's present and future.

At the 9th Extraordinary Congress and then the 10th Congress which I attended as a delegate, much was said about the negative phenomena that in the 1970's slowly inflamed political situation and led to sharper conflicts in social life and the economy. I do not intend to repeat all of the evaluations made in congress documents but will discuss a few because it would otherwise be hard to talk about the problems that our party organization must resolve at this time.

Polish communists have sharply and self-critically analyzed their mistakes and important conclusions have been drawn from the past. At this time, we know better than ever before how much harm can be caused the party and society by

bad strategic choices, above all in the area of the economy, that fail to consider our actual level of economic development and the level of maturity of socialist production attitudes that can have a great effect on international economic policy. By now, it has already become quite obvious to us that we could not perceive the gathering conflicts and discrepancies and talk about the moral and political unity of the nation before it was something actually achieved in practice. In presenting the sort of reality we wanted, we do not come any closer to our goal but fell further away.

When I consider what happened in Poland, I am reminded of Lenin's words about communists: no one in the world can discredit them without discrediting their very selves. The enemies of the socialist order have lived on our mistakes and on the departures from Leninist norms of party life during the precrisis period. The work of communists was predominantly marked by formalism, bureaucracy and ritual. Party and state organizations avoided the resolution of concrete problems and all of that only helped our opponents. Communists have not always had enough courage to look things right in the eye and see life as it really is. For that reason, we failed to be the first to see the weaknesses later exploited by antisocialist forces.

By 1970, the alarming signals of worker dissatisfaction about their working and living conditions and material situation had already appeared. This led to serious disturbances on the streets of Gdansk. It was at this time that I began work at the shipyard as a technical engineer and witnessed these events. In 1976, the situation at the shipyard again became tense. One cannot say that party members failed to react to the situation or that the central party and government organs did not know about it but they did fail to find a means of eliminating the tension.

At that time, there was already obvious proof that the enemies of socialism were becoming more active and winning over workers and especially the young workers by exploiting the errors in our social and economic policy. However, this problem was not given the necessary amount of attention for at that time it was erroneously felt that Poland's socialist foundations were unshakable, that the problems were only temporary and that the party had events under control. We also failed to consider why Gdansk had become a center for various kinds of political adventurers united under a banner of the defense of worker interests.

In choosing the Gdansk shipyards for the organization of disturbances, the enemy struck a strong psychological blow. At the beginning of the 1980's, the shipyards employed 17,000 workers and was a famous establishment throughout Poland. As I have already said, the shipyard was the very personification of the changes in Poland. It was hard for people to imagine it as a place of antisocialist activities. People felt that if there were demonstrations, their only purpose was the defense of workers and could not be an attack on the people's government.

For our opponent, especially during the starting period, everything was of great importance. Furthermore, the opposition considered a series of other factors that we had not perceived for some time. The leaders of the coming Solidarity movement assumed that Gdansk's industrial establishments and especially its shipyards offered the best social ground for the organization of such actions. It was chiefly during the postwar years that the Gdansk working class was formed. Workers were mostly recruited from the rural population. That is why the working class of the nation so slowly developed a socialist class awareness and in Gdansk, this process faced additional difficulties.

The shipbuilding industry in Poland was started practically from scratch. People were brought in from different corners of Poland. There was no other place in Poland in which the population was so rapidly increased with an influx of new inhabitants. The population growth was accompanied by a high rate of economic growth which caused both social and industrial complications. The hard work in the shipyards led to a high rate of worker turnover which in some years reached a level of 20-25 percent. Of course, people would not leave the shipyards if the work were easier, the wages higher, if worker families could receive more housing and if there were not a shortage of nurseries and preschools. However, year after year, these social problems went unresolved and the growth of social infrastructure proceeded much too slowly.

There was a growth in dissatisfaction and the party organization did not show enough stamina and strength to change the situation. And the shipyard's party committee and directors counted above all on the help of the central government while they themselves did little. Communists avoided discussing the problems that upset the people. The workers began to grow restless while party meetings became more and more superficial, conducted according to an old established routine in which everything was already laid out, planned and directed from above. No one said anything critical and discussions were far from intense.

The situation was such not only within our own party organization. Actually, it was in the shipyard where the personnel was forced every year to train many new workers usually recruited from unskilled people who found it hard to adapt to new conditions and sharply reacted to shortages and problems that the enemy was able to develop a great amount of influence. Here it was easier to disorient workers and turn their dissatisfaction into antisocialism.

Our enemies did not tarry to take advantage of this and it was they who caused the spontaneous demonstrations at the shipyard on 14 August 1980 which gradually began to organize themselves into a movement. The enemy very quickly insinuated its way among the workers and by the second day of demonstrations, strike organizers with armbands had found their way into the shipyard. On 15 August, there were demands that the shipyard not allow outsiders because the strike concerned its own internal problems. However, after a few days, right-wing agitators saw to it that this demand was dropped.

Then Lech Walesa with whose name the emergence of Solidarity is associated appeared in the shipyards. He was surrounded by advisors who were constantly whispering in his ears, probably telling him what to say. This is exactly what I saw as an onlooker.

In the beginning, the strike organizers made politically neutral demands such as a pay raise of 1000 zlotys for every worker. However, once this demand received general support, it was followed by other more political demands. Later on, efforts were made to organize campaigns against communists and there were cases in which party members were beaten and showered with abuse. Conflicts were provoked. An atmosphere of tension was maintained among the shipyard workers.

Our party organization was face to face with a well-organized and energetic opponent and could not expect outside help. At that time I was a group leader. We tried to work among the employees when we saw that most of the dissatisfied members were not hostile to us or had not lost their ability to analyze and reason. Therefore, party work was conducted at work sites and was often successful. However, whenever there was a gathering of any larger group of people, our situation became very difficult. And the right-wing representatives preferred to use such auditoriums in which they could skillfully manipulate the crowds.

The events of the last few years have shown that Polish communists have forgotten how to work with the masses, especially when not everyone is friendly to them and some are outright hostile. The members of our party organization lacked inquisitiveness, the ability to hold open discussions and to intuit the mood of the people. Often, we did not even know what direction to take in our work.

At the present time, in the Gdansk Shipyards, much like all over the rest of Poland, the situation is normalizing. It still remains a complex one but we are already out of the worst part of the crisis. In alliance with patriotic forces, our party has been able to change the course of events and deny popular support to the antisocialist opposition.

The communists have thoroughly revised their ideological, political and organizational work. They have changed their style and methods of action and we can now say of the party that "it is the same but not just the same". People are again beginning to trust us because they see that communists are seeking constructive solutions to economic and social problems and taking specific steps to make more democratic all aspects of life, broaden the rights of working people and to increase their power over the management of industry and social issues.

Moods in the shipyard have changed. In 1980, the leaders of Solidarity erected before the shipyard gates a monument to the events of 1970. This was an obvious attempt to provoke and continue the conflicts tormenting Polish society. However, people now see the monument in another light -- as a

reminder that we cannot be swayed by our emotions to risk the fate of our people and nation. Let me tell you about such an episode.

In August 1982, Lech Walesa (who presently works in the shipyard as an electrician in the electrical car maintenance division) made a big show of walking around the shipyard with flowers to set at the foot of the monument. Hundreds of people then joined him. Next year, he was joined by no more than a few score while in 1984 only a handful walked with him and in 1985, he went alone. Last year, he had to change his route and approach the monument not from the shipyard but from town in order to attract some passers-by. He was not accompanied by any of the shipyard workers that, as Lech Walesa tells western correspondents, support him.

Let me say a few words about "underground Solidarity." This organization claims to have some influence among working people. Well, perhaps it is not easy for the enemies of our social order to accept its political bankruptcy. Therefore, there do exist little groups of politicians that try to gain support anywhere they can find it. One shipyard worker decided to take advantage of the announcement last year of the government's amnesty and break away from the so-called underground. He later said that aside from distributing leaflets, he was also ordered to throw a bad-smelling liquid through doors, set doormats on fire and commit acts of plain vandalism rather than wage real political struggle.

With the passage of every month and year, the opposition is weakening and its influence is dwindling. For example, we asked the opposition to state their proposals and we would discuss and consider them and see what we could do. And what was their reply? "There is no sense in telling people to buy a Mercedes when they cannot afford a Polish Fiat." In other words, the opposition has no program of any kind that takes our actual situation into account. Their provocative and unrealistic demands only show that they want to achieve an impasse and create more tension.

Workers once joined Solidarity because they did not see its real political orientation. They were attracted by its claim that it stood for worker rights but in all reality, its slogans were false. People now know how closely politics and economics are tied. At one time they thought that anything could be achieved if the government was pressured hard enough. Willingly or not, the government would give them everything they want. If they demanded a pay raise or a thousand zlotys, they would get it and if they then demanded 2000, they would get that too. Poles are no longer the same people they were 5-7 years ago. People now know very well what it is that determines their earnings and buying power. We have been through a school of hard knocks and have gotten an economic education that has taught people to take a more sober look at life.

Of course, the situation did not improve all at once and on its own. We knew we could not make an immediate breakthrough. However, we also could not give up hope that everything would work out. The party's program for overcoming

the crisis and consolidating Polish society gave us the right instructions. We knew that the situation within the shipyards would largely depend on how quickly we could get the party organization to act again.

During the crisis years, the party organization dwindled from a membership of 3300 to 2000 persons and this was the result of previous mistakes in admitting new members. In many cases, our requirements were too low and we too superficially evaluated the professional, moral and political attributes of prospective members. A formalized and noncritical approach to increasing the party ranks was one reason the party lost much of its authority.

We had to correct the situation. Therefore, we had to consolidate party members and do everything to get them to once again believe in their powers. We also had to show workers that party members would be the first to act to eliminate shortcomings, care about the worker's interests and understand the needs of the people. We tried to make every communist aware that this was his or her proper role.

In the beginning, we decided that all party members must regularly report not only to meetings of the plant committee and its executive board but also to the workers. We then began to organize open party meetings at which we discussed issues both in production and party activities. More and more nonmembers have begun to attend these meetings. People have become convinced that we are definitely change our style of work and discussing the problems that hinder worker productivity and cause conflicts.

The party organization is also trying to see that credible information about all events in our country be made available as quickly as possible and that workers be informed by us rather than someone else about party and state activities to resolve the problems of the shipyard. The crisis years have taught communists a great deal. The rumors and gossip spread by the antisocialist forces have poisoned the atmosphere and we ourselves often failed to see the situation exactly as it was and could not therefore give direct answers. We presently hold the initiative. Every Monday, the party committee meets with the secretaries of basic party organizations and groups and we present them with information telexed from the PZPR Central Committee and the provincial party committee and discuss problems of concern to the workers. If we ourselves cannot resolve those problems, then we turn to higher party echelons and to other organizations and departments.

The number of party members at the shipyard has gradually increased. In comparison with 1982-83 when our organization did not receive a single new member, this is an obvious sign of progress. Where in 1984 the PZPR organization received 24 new members, about 100 joined in 1985-86. I must stress that we are not interested in mere numbers but above all emphasize the quality of new members.

An important trial for us was the process of restoring the trade unions and creating organs of worker self-management in our shipyard. At the beginning,

our efforts were met with silent resistance and there was circulated a leaflet urging a boycott of the new trade unions. Anti-party slogans appeared on the sides of ships under construction and on walls. It was only on our third attempt that we succeeded in creating a founder's committee for the new trade unions. Later, however, the workers came to feel that party members were not trying to impose their leadership on anyone but sincerely wanted equal partnership with anyone willing to act on behalf of worker interests. We said that without the broad participation of working people, the party organization alone is not strong enough to do much. The situation has been gradually improving. In 1983, the trade union already had 1500 members and now includes 6500 or almost 55 percent of the shipyard employees.

The Worker's Council has gained a very strong position in the shipyard. The creation of this organ of self-management was not an easy matter either. At the start, not many workers expressed any desire to join and most of the members that it did have were communists. Now, however, two-thirds of the Council members are party nonmembers. This is a sign of increased worker activity.

The party and union organizations and the Worker's Council have made a joint effort to work out an extensive program of housing construction. A housing settlement with apartments for about 4000 shipyard employees has been constructed. Within the next 5 years, another 3000 families will receive the keys to their own homes or apartments. The number of service apartments given temporarily to workers until they find their own single-family dwellings has also been increased. Construction work has been started on a new worker's hostel for 1000 persons. In other words, there exists a real possibility for seriously alleviating one of our worst problems which has long caused strong protest.

However, there are still many problems that remain unperceived. The most important of these is that of how we are to organize rhythmic work in the shipyard to avoid breaks in the flow of materials and equipment and the need to make up for time lost to interruptions. Both work interruptions and supply problems cause a feverish atmosphere in production, lower worker productivity and wages and worsen moods. In August of last year, this problem was discussed at a special meeting of the party committee. Our establishment has nearly 1500 cooperative enterprises and the least disruption in supplies upsets our planned work. For example, in the first half of 1986, one ship was finished late for that reason. It is understandable that we cannot deal with this unless we have the help of the central organs but we are also trying to help ourselves. In recent years, much has been done at the shipyard to streamline production and organize our work better. We are now establishing working contacts with the party members of other enterprises that use technological processes similar to ours.

The shipyard's party members are aware of their responsibilities. The 10th PZPR Congress's slogan was "The Party's Strength Is in the Strength of Its Basic Organizations". We remember the errors we made and assume that

communists and the party should be the first to express their dissatisfaction at the existing state of affairs. If they do, the country can avoid dangerous situations. In organizing our work, we strive to make Gdansk an example in practice of socialist renewal in Poland and to convince the people that there will be no return to the old ways.

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COMMENTARY ON WROCLAW 'SIECHNICE' PLANT CLOSING

Warsaw POLITYKA in Polish No 20, 16 May 87 p 4

[Article by Jerzy Baczynski: "Who Is Doing the Polluting Here?"]

[Text] The atmosphere around "Siechnice" Steelworks never was good. Literally and figuratively. For years various social organizations in Wroclaw demanded that the burdensome plant be shut down. Recently, to the consternation of the authorities, some "illegal structures" joined the campaign and street demonstrations against "Siechnice" were held. And it finally happened: In January the Voivodship People's Council (WRN) in Wroclaw made the precedent-setting decision ordering that the plant be shut down by the end of 1991. The ecologists won--on paper. I would not like to be a bad prognosticator but, despite everything, the case does not appear to be closed.

The dispute about "Siechnice" already contained just about everything: thousands of pages of official correspondence, dozens of conferences, professional reports, decisions, appeals, articles, a mass of invective (from fools to enemies of the political system) and a lot of denunciations. Actually, both sides in the conflict agree on only one point: It would be best if "Siechnice" Steelworks were not there at all, and especially not in that place, i.e., near the only water intakes for Wroclaw. There is no divergence of opinion there, because the blame for the wretched location can be put on the Germans.

In 1932, where the old carbide plant was, 12 km from Wroclaw, the Germans began to produce ferroalloys, principally for the armaments industry. The government experts said then that neither the steelworks nor the forming ferrochromium slag dump, would have an adverse affect on the quality of water taken from the ponds and infiltration wells there. During the following decades, no one examined the reliability of this opinion. In 1951 the plant again began to produce ferroalloys. And when it began this production, the central authorities ceased to be interested in it--the investment money allocated was only sufficient to maintain the primitive technology in operation. Environmental protection was thought of much, much later. And so, just as always, the dust went skywards and the slag piled up.

Decade of Promises

The real confusion around the steelworks began in the 1970's when--"as part of acceleration"--every industry raced to include as much as possible in the capital-improvement investment plan. At the recommendation of the Metallurgical Association, BIPROHUT prepared a "modernization" plan for "Siechnice," providing for expansion of the plant and a four-fold growth of production. Because the local authorities did not agree to expansion of "Siechnice," the association and the ministry "arranged" a government decision to build a new ferroalloy plant in another region of Poland. Only an emergency modernization was to have been made in "Siechnice" and the plant itself was to be shut down in 1980. In view of the fact that in the future a large, modern steelworks might be built, it was not worth putting up a fight over an old, post-German shop.

In this optimistic mood (in 1974) the then-mayor of Wroclaw, Marian Czulinski, issued a decision establishing a protective zone around the "Siechnice" water-bearing area. (An amusing paradox: former mayor Czulinski is now the managing director of "Siechnice" Steelworks.) Shortly afterwards the town authorities began to build a new "water production plant," called Wet Manor, near Siechnice. And everything would have been just fine and completely satisfactory to both the steelworkers and the residents of Wroclaw had it not been for the screeching realities. Despite government promises, there was no money to build the new steelworks which was to have replaced the old "Siechnice."

In the second half of the 1970's, the Metallurgical Association again returned to the project of expanding the steelworks. Twice the town administration was asked to agree to the beginning of construction, and twice the requests were refused. Even persuasive endeavors in the field of pollution control did not help: The slag heap--to prevent dust from flying--was covered with dirt, an attempt was made to stabilize the slag by using boron, and most important, construction of a prototype wet precipitator, designed by Wroclaw Polytechnic, was begun. (This facility, built at a cost of 100 million zlotys, never really was put into operation. It seems that the engineering was faulty. The case is still in arbitration.) The voivodship authorities were afraid, and rightly so, that a major modernization of the steelworks (to say nothing of expansion) would make it a permanent part of the water-bearing landscape for the decades that follow.

In 1980 the decade of promises ended. "Siechnice" continued--as it had for years--to emit 1,500 to 2,000 tons of dust into the atmosphere each year and, into the slag heap which was scarcely 500 meters from the first group of infiltration wells, 100,000 tons of chromium-bearing slag. The matter was back at square one. The dispute, silent during the 1970's, began to sharply escalate. The Voivodship Office's Environmental Protection Department believed that the decision to shut down the steelworks was still in effect, particularly since the new "water factory" in Wet Manor had already been built. However the management of the steelworks, with the support of its parent ministry, argued that because there was no alternative, the production

of ferrochromium in Siechnice must be continued. Again the old modernization plans were pulled out. Both sides began their "professional expertise" battles.

Raze or Rebuild?

Both the steelworks and the Voivodship Office recommended that various groups of specialists examine the effect of "Siechnice" on the natural environment. On a couple of points the scientists were in agreement: soil degradation is occurring in the area of the steelworks; dust falling on the water basins is lowering their infiltration capacity and the ability to treat the water biologically; and because the slag weathers and is washed by rain there is a danger that chromium will get into the aquiferous layer of the soil. But on this last question the opinions were divided. Some specialists believed that "the slag heap is migrating towards the water intakes," while others maintained that the distance between the slag heap and the basins is too great for chromium to enter. Another subject of controversy was the division of responsibility for polluting the environment between the steelworks and the nearby "Czechnica" electric-power and heat-generating plant.

Meanwhile, when the scientists appeared in the Siechnice area, the Labor Inspectorate showed up at the steelworks and after taking a look decided to temporarily close the plant because of the very bad working conditions (primarily the uncontrolled emissions of gases and dust). The steelworks was forced to shut down two of its worst furnaces and was also required to "seal" the remaining ones (the management did not comply with this recommendation because sealed furnaces did not have sufficient draft to operate.) The atmosphere around the steelworks began to thicken...

Help came from Warsaw: In 1984 the Council of Ministers approved a program for the development of metallurgy to the year 1990. This program contained an entry on "maintaining production in 'Siechnice' Steelworks at a cost of 6 billion zlotys." The steelworks' authorities interpreted this vague entry as follows: Because "maintaining" requires modernization, and modernization requires that the plant be practically rebuilt (it was 70 percent "worn out"), therefore, without expanding production, a new plant may be built. The town authorities reasoned as follows: Production may be maintained only until 1990. Until then money must be invested in pollution control, but there can be no talk about "rebuilding" a steelworks which no reasonable person would later permit to be bulldozed. The differences in opinion were the same as those between reconstructing a dilapidated building or razing it. But the government has ordered so the administration must obey, and a modernization plan was awaited from the steelworks.

The plan, which was a new version of the old BIPROHUT program, went further than the government's decision. It provided for the continuation of operations until 1992 (second stage, amounting to 6.5 billion zlotys). It is true that out of a total sum of 12.5 billion zlotys almost 40 percent was supposed to go for pollution control (including a two-fold reduction in dust emission), nevertheless this plan did not fulfill the additional conditions set by the Wroclaw voivode. For example, the housing community on Kosciuszko

Street in Siechnice was to have been eliminated, the slag pile was to be completely removed, and no new construction was to be permitted.

If the government really intended to defend the existence of the steelworks it was very inconsistent, because in December 1985 the deputy chairman of the Planning Commission informed the Wroclaw voivode that "the investment will not come from the central government, but will be an investment coming from enterprises, and therefore the entire siting process will take place in the Voivodship Office in Wroclaw." Had the endeavor been given "of national importance" standing, the matter could have been settled over the heads of the Wroclaw residents. As it was, the fate of the steelworks was "handed over to the enemy."

A list of the most zealous opponents to "Siechnice" was prepared in the steelworks. First place on the list was assigned to the director of the Wroclaw Voivodship's Environmental Protection Department, Barbara Rogala; then comes the Polish Ecological Club, which in January 1986 sent a letter to the premier demanding that the steelworks be shut down; then the Chief Technical Organization (NOT); the Nature Protection League; the Democratic Party; the Association of Polish Architects; the political underground; and above all the journalists who "slandered" the steelworks and its management "in a disgusting fashion." Actually, outside of its own ministry, the steelworks could not count on any allies.

Impending Catastrophe

Already in January of this year, WRN received a "comprehensive opinion concerning the effect of pollution emissions by 'Siechnice' Steelworks on the adjoining areas." It was prepared by Wroclaw Polytechnic under the direction of Prof Apolinary Kowal. The opinion states that breathing air containing chromium may cause numerous diseases, including cancer. Insofar as the slag heap is concerned, it is an "ecological bomb": no one knows when and under what conditions the absorption capacity of the soil will be exceeded, which would result in a "chromium catastrophe" in the aquiferous areas. On the basis of this opinion, two weeks later WRN decided to shut down the steelworks.

The director of "Siechnice," Marian Czulinski, says that the decision was made too hastily, under the pressure of the "political opponent."

"Environmental protection has become a political battleground. It is even more justified in our case because ferroalloys are being produced which are used for special purposes. Could there be a more convenient target?

I understand the intentions of the WRN, but we have been placed in a very awkward situation: We have the Council of Ministers decision on modernizing the steelworks and we have the conflicting decision of the local authorities. In addition, WRN's decision is completely unrealistic."

Dr Marian Miklowski, chief environmental protection specialist in "Siechnice" Steelworks, has the following warning:

"I will not defend the steelworks against the interests of environmental protection. But first, nowhere has it been proven that "Siechnice" is the greatest threat to the water-bearing areas, and who is really doing the polluting here. It appears that the emission of mercury and sulfur oxides by the nearby "Czechnica" electric-power and heat-generating plant is much more dangerous. But of course, everyone is attacking only the steelworks.

"The steelworks asked the Environmental Engineering Institute in Zabrze to prepare a comprehensive, professional report. The report is not yet complete but preliminary indications are that the vision of an impending ecological disaster is highly exaggerated. The penetration of chromium into the soil (from the slag heap) is slight and there is no basis to connect the existence of the slag heap with the pollution of water in the infiltration ponds. Also, the emission of dust is much less harmful than had been described in the letter sent by the Polish Ecological Club to the premier."

So much for the professional reports themselves. But there are also other arguments against the WRN decision. First, the matter of eliminating the slag heap by 1990, as WRN would like. Moving the slag heap to another place (and it is still not known where) would require removal of 3,600 tons of slag a day nonstop for 2 years. To do this, a transport convoy made up of 18-ton trucks leaving every 6 minutes would have to be organized. This would mean that transportation around Wroclaw would be paralyzed, to say nothing of the huge costs, about 5 billion zlotys. Who will pay for this, asks Dr Milkowski.

There is also the production aspect. "Siechnice" is the only domestic producer of ferroalloys. Building a replacement plant would cost about 50 billion zlotys, and even then the new plant would not be ready before the year 2000. Until then, after "Siechnice" is shut down, we would have to import ferrochromium. At a cost of \$220 million. Is it not better to modernize "Siechnice", with all of the indispensable pollution control installations?

"I do not deny that the plant pollutes," says Dr Milkowski. But after all, people are dying in the hard coal mines. Does this mean that we should shut down Upper Silesia? No local government wants dirty industry in its area. So where are we supposed to put the plant? In Bieszozady? We must set forth requirements for industry to observe for the protection of the environment and enforce these requirements, but not shut down production."

The Ministry of Metallurgy and Machine Industry completely supports Milkowski's position.

Shut Down This Junk-Heap?

We now give the floor to an opponent of the plant, Barbara Rogala, director of the Voivodship Office's Environmental Protection Department:

"They are complaining that we made a decision without making a comprehensive study? Sir, the Siechnice area is the most studied place in Poland. Over 20 professional reports have been prepared thus far. But even without a study the matter would be obvious. Near Czestochowa the heavy metals washed out of the waste dumps of the chemical plants have made it necessary to disconnect

the water intakes. Are we supposed to wait until the same thing happens in Wroclaw? After all, the councillors are not a bunch of idiots. Anyway, what we are fighting about? What kind of factory is this? Four hundred employees, and from the engineering standpoint, total junk. I understand that the Ministry of Metallurgy cannot agree with the fact that some local authority said 'no,' that Mrs. Rogala intends to close their factory. Unfortunately, times have changed."

The WRN chairman, Prof Ryszard Badura:

"The decision cannot be reversed. If there is even a shadow of danger to the health of the residents of Wroclaw, we have no right to take the risk. We cannot move the water-bearing areas to another place, but the plant and its slag heap can be moved."

Meanwhile, neither the plant management nor the leadership of the ministry have laid down their weapons. Another version of the modernization of the steelworks is being prepared, this time according to a new "non-precipitating" technology. It may be that this concept will be assigned the standing of "an investment of national importance" and then the siting process will begin all over again. There are also thoughts of skipping over the WRN decision, because after all "the economy cannot afford to comply with the recommendations of the councillors."

The conflict has entered a new phase. Too many persons and institutions have put their authority on the line to expect that the settlement will be easy. In addition to the "material" reasons, personal emotions and old scores come into the picture, while both sides cite the "public interest."

Without a doubt it would be best to shut down "this junk-heap," just as we should shut down all of the other junk-heaps scattered throughout the entire country. But up to now, in the case of such conflicts, penury has always won out ("you are right, but where are we going to get the money to do this?").

Well, if only for mental health purposes, some kind of spectacular ecological success would come in handy. Will it be the shutdown of "Siechnice?" Experience tells us to be cautious, although dark clouds are really hanging over "Siechnice" Steelworks today. Both literally and figuratively.

9295

C30: 2600/674

'POLONIA' ASSOCIATION CHIEF ON POST WORLD WAR II EMIGRATION

Lublin SZTANDAR LUDU in Polish 8 May 87 pp 3,4

[Interview with the general secretary of Polonia Society, Ambassador Jozef Klas, by Zbigniew Miazga]

[Text] [Question] Do you agree that there will be no taboo subjects in our interview?

[Answer] Yes.

[Question] Let us begin with you. The briefest biography of Jozef Klas reads as follows: Diplomat, graduate of the Main Foreign Service School, former ambassador of the Polish People's Republic to Cuba, Mexico and Morocco. Former first secretary of the PZPR Voivodship Committee in Krakow and former director of the Central Committee Press, Radio and Television Department. Now general secretary of Polonia [Poles abroad] Friendship Society.

[Answer] That is correct.

[Question] There is a certain legend connected with you. It comes down to the following statement, which I myself heard for the first time in 1980: When it is hot in the country, we send for Klas, and after a certain amount of time he is again sent out as an ambassador.

[Answer] In every myth--because to me that is a myth--there is nevertheless a little truth. In this case, I would reduce it to the following statement: Anyone who deals in politics must suffer the consequences. I was assigned to Cuba in 1969 because of a rather sharp conflict which arose between me and the erstwhile decisionmakers. I cannot say that I liked Cuba, but I was impressed by the fact that I was the youngest Polish ambassador. But this lasted only 8 months. After the events in Gdansk, I was invited to come back to Poland and was offered the position of VC first secretary in Krakow, from which I come.

[Question] Did you leave this job because you wanted to or because the voters wanted you to?

[Answer] No... This was the memorable, for many, year of 1975. I expressed opinions on the subject of a new administrative division of the country which

differed from the official position. I saw another way of solving Krakow's economic problems... And despite the fact that I was a member of the CC and a deputy to the Sejm, after the voivodships were reorganized no job was found for me in Poland. I was offered a post in Mexico...

[Question] ... which you admit was really no big hardship.

[Answer] I admit that. I returned from Mexico in a very normal way, after my tour of duty expired. The fact that this was in the "hot" 1980 is something else. Then I took a job in the CC. Also my recent return from Morocco is "only" the result of the normal rotation of ambassadors.

[Question] Does this mean that the period of conflicts has ended?

[Answer] I am in Poland only since 20 December 1986. But speaking seriously, I came to a job which fascinates me and for which I am prepared both theoretically and practically.

[Question] In a moment, if you permit, you will speak as the head of Polonia Society. But first I would like to ask you what picture the people in the countries in which you served as ambassador have of Poland and Poles. Do they really know where the country you represented is located?

[Answer] But that is a subject for a separate interview. We have to talk separately about Cuba, separately about Morocco and Central America (I was accredited not only to Mexico, but also to Panama, Costa Rica, Honduras and Nicaragua, and I was concerned also with El Salvador and Guatemala, with whom we do not maintain diplomatic relations, it is true, but we do have trade contacts).

You ask whether they know about Poland and how they see us. They know about us. Not only from our history, including World War II, but also from contemporary events such as the election of a Pole as pope, a Nobel-prize winning Pole, cultural events, and the victories of Polish sportsmen. But we were also on the front pages because of completely different events, such as martial law... Although there is no fixed, i.e., lasting for many years, opinion about the Polish economy, or even politics, there is a fixed opinion about the Polish character--romantic, open.

Our basic theme is Polish emigration. It is strange, and maybe even tragic, that we know relatively little on this subject. Although we are still able to say something about the emigrations after national uprisings and the emigration to escape hunger at the beginning of this century, there is little knowledge about what happened at the end of World War II and later.

This is even more tragic if we consider that Polish emigration--if we stick with the results of the Lublin studies--totals 8 to 9 million people. In this respect, we are peculiar in our part of the world. And that is a real fact, although not always realized.

[Question] Let us talk about facts, particularly the lesser-known ones.

[Answer] Let us take World War II as a turning point. Even while it was going on, Poles, regardless of where they were, divided into camps: democratic and purge (recovery). I am simplifying, because the facts are known. The establishment of People's Poland met with negation by the United States and England. On the other hand, General De Gaulle recognized the Polish Committee of National Liberation. And what happened? From Belgium, and primarily from France, a great wave of repatriates returned. The miners brought their own equipment, thanks to which we were able to put the Silesian mines into operation. But in other countries Poles were frightened away from their own country. Political contests, of course, lay at the root of this. The "cold war" became more and more subtle. And that is why not many people returned from England and the United States.

[Question] Those who stayed abroad were declared to be dishonorable and disloyal.

[Answer] Until the middle of 1948, the Polish government appealed to its countrymen to return. And then it turned its back on them and they were all labeled "enemies." All of them were judged the same, even those who did not return because they were deceived and did not know the real facts.

And at the peak of distrust under Stalinism--in 1949, by a special decision of the highest authorities, over 60 emigrants had their Polish citizenship revoked. This was an incredible act, particularly because it was directed at people with exceptionally meritorious service in the formation of the Second Republic and in the organizing of the armed resistance in the battle with German fascism.

[Question] But then came 1956...

[Answer] Because regulations were eased at that time, it became possible to leave the country and the emigration wave began. To the United States, Canada, and Australia. And a certain group of people, who repatriated from France after the war, returned to France.

These, and many other departures, in my opinion, should not be hastily regarded as a political manifestation. And even more so, as betrayal. A person would like to see something, and if he is able, improve his living conditions. Aside from small exceptions, after October, personal economic motivations came into play, and I would say, a sense of adventure and vagabondage.

[Question] To be honest, we should also mention the process of uniting families and the resettlements from Silesia to the FRG.

[Answer] And perhaps we should stop there, because that is a separate and enormous subject.

No less extensive and in addition, complicated, is the matter of emigration after 1968. This is not a very pretty chapter in the history of our government. Not only did people of Jewish origin leave at that time, but, as an act of protest, many who had always felt themselves to be Poles.

[Question] Well, and now the latest events, which we remember very well: the emigration of over 200,000 in the 1980's.

[Answer] I personally believe that this exodus was caused only to a small degree by political conditions, but that the main reason was our economic crisis. The young people--engineers, architects, scientists, etc.--left because our conditions, they believed, offered them no future. These people, mainly realizing their professional ambitions, would like to establish a stable life for themselves without severing their contacts with Poland. They want to become citizens of another state not because they are ashamed of their Polish citizenship, but because the other citizenship gives them the opportunity to establish themselves in their profession.

[Question] Are you not being too liberal?

[Answer] We here in Poland have to understand all of this. Also because it is these people who are most Polish and who are most vitally linked by various ties to Poland. Therefore, our attitude towards them should be decent, and very simply, it should be honest. And furthermore, looking at it from the utilitarian standpoint, it is in our interest to maintain close ties with them. It is a simple fact. A couple million of our countrymen will enter into the 21st century sooner than we will. The results of this will be cultural, social, and also economical. Our opening of all possible channels can only work to our benefit. And the final argument. We should realize that a period of agreement between East and West is approaching. It would be worthwhile for us to take advantage of this so that Poles on both sides can understand each other better.

[Question] You used the term: 21st century. Yet we are offering Poles abroad a handful of their native soil, a costumed doll from Cepelia, Mazowsze, and a wood carving of Chopin. We are most happy when they become emotional and weep. Polonia Society, our representatives, are also not without blame.

[Answer] I believe that certain proven activities of Polonia Society--because I can speak in its name--should be retained. The fact that many thousands of people attend Polonia festivals, games, summer camps, vacation courses, etc., proves that these should not be discontinued. But we should also realize that through them we are reaching only a specific segment, mainly from the old emigration. The others can identify with Poland at another level. The doctor, engineer, economist, or writer of Polish descent will try to make contact with someone of a similar profession in Poland. And here is where we see Polonia Society's role. Here, too, arises the question of the study of the Polish language.

[Question] You did not mention business.

[Answer] Unfortunately, our attempts in this area have not produced overwhelming results.

[Question] Why?

[Answer] The reason for this is the difference in our institutions. If we do not reprivatize certain fields of our economy we will not be able to make more extensive and more effective use of Polonia capital.

[Question] Nevertheless, all of this sounds like heresy.

[Answer] But it is the truth. Please remember the effects of past attempts. In the face of various inabilities, the lack of flexibility in our system, some businessmen made a lot of money very quickly, sometimes in an undeserved way. A bad climate arose around enterprises, which, in any case, in large part are not Polonia enterprises.

But the first attempts have been made and on the whole are not as bad as would seem, from what I have said and what is believed. We must only make some wise revisions. I believe that the second stage of economic reform is giving us the reasons to vote for such a solution. Because although the Polonia "millionaire clubs" are not so big, nevertheless only a small percentage of what the Polonia could invest is being taken advantage.

It is not possible to win over the Polonians by declarations alone. Deeds should follow words, and in this case, official deeds. What am I referring to? We should give consideration to whether our law on citizenship is not outdated, particularly for a country which has such an enormous emigration. A traveler to Poland must choose his citizenship--Polish or the country in which he is living. And even if he decides on the passport with the white eagle, he is still treated almost like a foreigner (he must obtain an entry permit, pay a fee, and must exchange money at an official, fixed tourist rate).

[Question] Thus far we have been talking about Poles living in the capitalist countries and in the third world. And after all, our countrymen are also in the socialist countries, including the Soviet Union. What do they get, what can they count on from Polonia Society?

[Answer] It is true that almost all of our past activities have been directed at the capitalist countries. But this will change.

In Czechoslovakia there is an organized Polonia numbering several thousand. There is a Polish Cultural Union in Zaolzie, in the neighborhood of Koszyc and Cieszyn. The Poles have their own schools, preschools, clubhouses and organizations. The situation in Hungary, where there is a Bem Polonia Society, is similar. There are also small Polonia organizations in Romania and Bulgaria.

And the Soviet Union. Statistics show that there are approximately 1.2 million people in this country who speak of their Polish origin. The assertion that we as Polonia Society have not had contact with them is not correct. The Wilejka Group took part in Polonia meetings. For a number of years we have been sending folk costumes and books, mainly to Lithuanian Polonia. We also maintain contacts with individuals. Therefore, something has been done, but now more will be done. The Soviet side--and this is the result of the new policy of the USSR--and the Polish

side have expressed such a desire. There are already some concrete facts: General Jaruzelski's and later Minister Krawczuk's visit to Vilnius, and the New Year's meeting with Polonia in the consulate in Minsk, Byelorussia. A decision was also made to establish a consular agency in Lwow.

All of this creates a climate in which a program of contacts can be prepared, during which Poland, as the country which has certain obligations, will undertake to meet the language, cultural and other needs of those Poles who want this. We intend to invite representatives of Polonia to participate in our events: festivals, meetings, games, and the Third Congress of Scholars of Polish Descent, which will take place in 1989.

[Question] You were recently in Lublin to learn what has been done and the peculiarities of our group working in behalf of emigration. You complemented both Marie Sklodowska-Curie University (UMCS) and its Polonia Center and Lublin Catholic University (KUL). First question: Was this not diplomatic courtesy? And second question: What goals would you set forth for my countrymen?

[Answer] What I said in Lublin was not a cheap pleasantry. I was really surprised at the momentum of the research work and the public involvement in Polonia matters. The achievements of UMCS are equal to those of Jagiellonian University, although the staff and accommodation conditions in Lublin are incredibly worse. What has been done in UMCS for culture and education deserves high praise.

What impressed me at KUL, on the other hand, was that in the crush of various subjects not only is extensive research being conducted on Polonia priesthood, but also vacation courses are conducted in Polish language and culture. On 11 May a conference will be held which will be devoted to the emigrant family.

I would like very much for these two universities, which are linked by the proximity of their location and personal contacts, to develop a concept for the collaboration of Polonia Society with the Polonia clergy, and to undertake studies on Polonia in the socialist countries, including the Soviet Union. I also dream of the preparation of an educational program for schools and higher educational institutions devoted to Polonia as a specific segment of knowledge in the area of history. I have already submitted this offer in Lublin. And I am optimistic.

[Interviewer] Mr Ambassador, I thank you most kindly for the interview, during which I learned a great deal.

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BRIEFS

SOVIET CONSUL VISITS KATOWICE--Changes taking place in the Soviet Union are arousing lively interest in many parts of our country. Qualitative changes are also occurring in many areas of Polish-Soviet cooperation. The declaration signed by the leaders of the Soviet Union and Poland during Gen Wojciech Jaruzelski's recent visit in Moscow provided a very strong impetus to this cooperation. On Tuesday at Silesian University in Katowice, the consul general of the USSR in Krakow, Piotr D. Sardaczuk, was a guest. He met with the sociopolitical aktiv and university authorities. He reported on the specifics of the activities of the consulate in Krakow and talked about the processes occurring in the Soviet Union. The restructuring of social consciousness, he said, is a more difficult and considerable more lasting process than that of restructuring the economy. Workers in education face especially important tasks in this respect. The meeting was conducted by the first secretary of the PZPR University Committee of Silesian University, Jerzy Siechowski. [Text] [Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 6 May 87 p 4] 9295

NEW ENVIRONMENTAL ORMO UNIT--To comply with public demand for pollution control and ensure public law and order, thanks to the voluntary commitment of employees of the state administration, a Citizens Militia Voluntary Reserve (ORMO) unit was formed in Lodz City Hall. The activities of the new ORMO unit will be directed at protecting the natural environment and fighting the black market and crime against minors. [Text] [Lodz GLOS ROBOTNICZY in Polish 4 May 87 p 5] 9295

YOUTH 'POLITICAL ACTIVISM' DAYS--Since Monday, 6 May, "Youth Political Activism Days" are underway in Zawierc, under the theme "We are the vanguard of the 21st century." This stems from the proposal made at the recent seminar on the effectiveness of ideological-upbringing work, organized by the PZPR Town Committee in Zawierc. The events taking place during "Political Activism Days" constitute an opportunity to explain and elucidate contemporary problems on both a broad nationwide scale and a much narrower scale affecting the immediate surroundings. A youth forum was held on Monday at which representatives of the town government replied to questions asked by young people concerning housing construction, access to culture, and places in which free time could be spent usefully and interestingly. All of these matters are related in a more or less direct way with the effectiveness of ideological upbringing influence on youth. On Tuesday, 7 May, a seminar titled, "Lenin--Man, Thinker, Activist" was held. Until 25 May, smaller meetings of young

people with town councillors and representatives of local authorities will be held in schools and workplaces. A "Political Knowledge" competition is being held for secondary school youth. A joint meeting of the town boards of the Union of Socialist Polish Youth, the Polish Scout Union and the Rural Youth Union, will conclude the "Days." [Text] [Katowice TRYBUNA ROBOTNICZA in Polish 9 Apr 87 p 2] 9295

CSO: 2600/674

EMINESCU ARTICLES DISCUSS DENATIONALIZATION, RELATED ISSUES

Bucharest STEAUA in Romanian No 3, 1987 pp 24-29, 50

[Republication of 1882 article by Mihai Eminescu: "The Romanians in Hungary"; first eight paragraphs are STEAUA introduction by D. Vatamaniuc: "Eminescu and Official Hungarian Historiography"; passages within slantlines printed in italics]

[Text] Eminescu concerned himself with the situation of the Romanians in the Austro-Hungarian Empire back in his first articles in FEDERATIUNEA in 1870, when he brought up the dualist system: "A Diplomatic Fiction" ("Opere" [Works], IX, "Publicistica" [Journalism], p 92). The situation of the Transylvanian Romanians stayed on his mind throughout his journalistic activity and he commented on it with complete independence of thought, without heeding the interests of the government parties in his time. The matters raised for discussion were analyzed with insight and in accord with the irreversible course of the historical events.

During his activity in the "Carpatii" Society, Eminescu assumed the task of commenting on Paul Hunfalvy's monograph "Ethnographie von Ungarn," published in Budapest in 1877. The monograph appeared in the collection "Die Volker Oesterreich-Ungarns. Ethnographische und Cultural-Historische Schilderungen." I. Slavici's monograph "Die Rumanen in Ungarn, Siebenburgen und der Bukovina" was also published there in 1881.

Hunfalvy also gave a chapter in his monograph to the Romanians in an exposition from the positions of official Hungarian historiography. Roesler's thesis through which the Romanians' continuity in Dacia was disputed was thus revived. Eminescu subjects the Roeslerian thesis to a critical examination and shows that it has no scientific basis. In his argument the poet relies on the works of: Edward Gibbon, "The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire," which he consulted in a German edition, of course; Amedee Thierry, "Histoire d'Attila et de ses Successeurs"; Theodor Mommsen, "Romische Geschichte"; Lorenz Diefenbach, "Volkerkunde Osteuropas Insbesondere der Halbinsel und der Unteren Donaugebiete"; and Joseph Ladislau Pic, "Ueber die Abstammung der Rumanen." For Robert Roesler he used "Rumanische Studien" from 1871, of course. The two collections of documents by Istvan Katona, "Historia Critica Regnum Hungariae," and Gyorgy Fejer, "Codex Diplomaticus Hungariae Ecclesiasticus ac Civilis," must also be borne in mind. Although he

consulted these works, the poet got most of his data from B.P. Hasdeu's synthesis "Istoria Critica a Romanilor" [The Critical History of the Romanians].

Eminescu directly consulted Julius Jung's work "Roemer und Romanen in den Donaulaender," published in Innsbruck in 1877. The Austrian historian's scientific activity also stayed on the poet's mind in the period of Iasi journalism ("Opere," IX, "Publicistica," Bucharest, 1980, pp 243-244, 655-656). In the scientific movement of the time, Jung represented the direction that supported the continuity of the Romanians in Dacia.

Eminescu's authorship of this leading article is demonstrated mainly by the fact that the poet continued the discussion on official Hungarian historiography from CURIERUL DE IASI and CONVORBIRI LITERARE. Roesler's theory was also criticized in the Iasi publications for its unscientific character ("Opere," IX, "Publicistica," pp 243-244). Furthermore, Eminescu took excerpts from the works of Salvianus (circa 390-circa 484), an ecclesiastical writer, "De Gubernatione Dei," and Priscus (410-473), a Byzantine chronicler, "Historia Gothorum," and they are preserved in manuscript 2,270, 62 recto, 63 recto. "Sent to Attila's court, Priscus," it says in the manuscripts, "found a Roman who had regained his freedom and was doing well." In manuscript 2,263, 2-3, 29, Eminescu made notes on the regions of Fagaras, Hunedoara, and Maramures, and the information there was integrated into an article, "The Valley of the Cerna" (the Dacians' Dierra, Zerna)—Eminescu noted in the manuscripts. Maramures is near—Eminescu noted in the same manuscript—"Satmar and Ugocia" (Dragos). The excerpts and notes in the manuscripts were also used by Eminescu in the leading articles "The Romanian"—he also commented—and "They Spin More Easily...", published in TIMPUL on 12 September 1882 and 13 June 1884 ("Opere," XIII, "Publicistica," pp 187-189, 313-314), for which we also find evidence in the manuscripts. The use of the same information, reproduced word for word from the manuscripts, in this article and in others that followed is indisputable evidence that attests to Eminescu's authorship. Let us also quote, if it is still necessary, some typical phrases: "rai politici" [bad politicians], "istoria in mina" [the history in hand], and "suta a..." [the hundred]. The last phrase is often used here to designate the centuries.

Eminescu puts his considerations on Hunfalvy's opinions about the Romanians in the general context of the policy of Magyarization promoted by the governments in Budapest. The poet presents, sarcastically, the Hungarian legislation which contained all sorts of rights for the "nationalities" but which was not applied and only served as a means of propaganda abroad. Eminescu defines in categorical terms his position on the policy of Magyarization: "We want to remain what we are, Romanians." He also defined in similar terms his position on this policy in the first article, "Let's Hold a Congress," that he published in FEDERATIUNEA back in 1870, during his university studies: "We are Romanians, we want to remain Romanians" ("Opere," IX, "Publicistica," p 90).

Eminescu's political orientation did not vary on the matter of the Romanians under foreign rule.

"The Romanians in Hungary" was published as a leading article in TELEGRAFUL ROMAN, XXX, No 55, 13/25 May 1882, p 217; No 56, 15/27 May 1882, pp 221-222;

No 58, 22 May/3 June 1882, pp 229-230; No 60, 27 May/8 June 1882, pp 237-238; No 66, 10/22 June 1882, pp 261-262; and No 69, 17/29 June 1882, pp 273-274. It is a synthetic exposition of Eminescu's political thought.

1. At present, political surprises and contradictions abound. Under such circumstances, sound reasoning does not exactly affect people preoccupied with chauvinism. On the contrary, one who follows a political program based on what is real and useful to the people reaches the position of fighting in vain. What he fights today he must also fight tomorrow, since those who, ruled by chauvinistic passions, have set themselves on the ground of surprises and contradictions do not shrink from saying today that white is black and tomorrow that black is white, and so on.

In newspaper articles, in parliamentary speeches, in pamphlets, and in other political writings we read things that describe the situation of the non-Hungarian peoples in Hungary as so wonderful that you would think that the whole outside world would covet the position of these "fortunate" peoples. "Equally entitled," they possess all of the same privileges and they also have to bear the same burdens. Parliament, the hierarchy of functionaries from bottom to top, state subsidies of all kinds for public and private undertakings, guarantees for public and private instruction--all are open and available to all.

Is this not a fortunate position for the non-Hungarian nationalities in Hungary? What more do they want? And then, when it is also a question of the Romanians, are they too not among these "fortunate" nationalities?

So the host of Hungarian- and German-language newspapers, paid for and free, that have been put at the disposal of the Hungarian Government and the Hungarian nationality, which, by a linguistic coincidence, is identical to the "Hungarian nation" (magyar nemzet), chant in our ears on every occasion.

The above-mentioned host of newspapers thus paint a rosy picture of the situation and position of the nationalities, and hence of the Romanians. The nationals in Hungary, whether Romanians or Serbo-Croatians or Germans or, ultimately, whatever they may be, can become great statesmen, they can propose reforms in parliament, they can climb the civil and judicial hierarchical rungs to ministers. They just cannot become kings and emperors. Universities, gymnasiums, and other schools of all kinds are set up for them; theaters are built for them from public funds; institutes of culture are subsidized for them; autonomy in their own administration of churches, schools, and funds is guaranteed to them.

If only it were so!

However--this inevitable "however"--shortsightedness overturns and destroys all the illusions that they may have. Because, for example, the parliament does not exist for one who does not speak the Hungarian language perfectly, even a very great and good patriot, because it is the law that only the Hungarian language is the parliamentary language in Hungary. In fact, only a few can slip into high or low positions, and they especially if they have denied national feelings, or what is even more highly prized, if these feelings are

completely rejected. A national, and hence a Romanian, who wants to be able to also use his spiritual powers for his people, as far as his official occupation allows him, is removed from office on one pretext or another or, in the most favorable case, is put under the watch of informers and spies after "ultraists," "instigators," "Pan-Slavists," "Daco-Romanists," and other "ists," because, in this regard, the "patriotic" lexicon is rich in terms. Therefore, the Romanian who wants to devote himself also to his nationality in what is legal and patriotic at the same time must seek a career outside the hierarchy of functionaries. In other words, a Romanian who is attached to his nationality cannot be a minister or other high official, a presiding judge, or a district vice president, unless he was a "fortunate" one who was in office and could not be removed from office by some ruse. Of course, what is happening to the Romanians is also happening to others, and vice versa.

Universities? A Hungarian university was set up for us in Cluj, there is another in Budapest, and one--Hungarian, of course--is also to be set up in Pojón or Seghedín. And if we Romanians, for example, dare to open our mouths, talking of a Romanian university, we are mocked. By whom? By those who boast to the world that here in Hungary everyone can develop himself freely and without hindrance. Gymnasiums, real schools, trade schools in the national language, set up by the state? Not a mention! We are supposed to be very pleased that the government [line missing from source] like those supported by the state for young Hungarians and for those who want to be Hungarians. Let us be glad that what we hold with our prodigious personal labor and sweat is not also taken from us, to be directed against the development of our national culture. It is clear what end the lower schools are to serve. We are gotten to work with our powers, which the state is far from supporting, at the Magyarization of the future generations, because those who shout to the world how great the benefits and freedom are in Hungary are of the opinion that Hungary will be great and strong only when it is inhabited by pure Hungarians. We all subsidize theaters from the state's pocket with colossal sums for the Hungarians, because, except for Hungarian theaters in Hungary, we are not aware that any institution of this kind of any of the other nationalities gets subsidies from the state. The right of exposition is forbidden at our gatherings for purposes of culture, instead of their being supported from the common funds of the state. Finally, autonomy is given to the church, only to be reduced by ordinances and nonecclesiastical laws; and in the press it is chanted to us that the church is or can be a source of hostility toward the state and the idea of the state, because the church functionaries "do not know Hungarian." The state also gives a small subsidy to the national churches as an equivalent (?) for the services that the churches do for the state, but this too is withheld on many occasions, it being shouted especially at us that the state is supporting machinations against it with Hungarian money (!!!).

This is vague, but even from it one can see the contradictions for us in the country.

Naturally, in our turn, when we see these contradictions, we cannot keep silent. However, as regards us Romanians, the terms in which we reply are angelic besides those of the Hungarian opposition when it speaks against the

Hungarian Government and besides those of the Hungarian newspapers when they write about the nationalities, about the common army, etc.

Nevertheless, the above-mentioned newspapers attack the most harmless thought about us and tell us that we are "ultraists" and "ingrates" and advise us to take examples from Germany, France, Italy, and other national states. As if, on command, we should accept as the gospel truth what the "infallible" newspapers tell us, in their tone of instructors, and we would not even have the God-given right to think.

Is this not surprising--not to mention, infuriating--to any rational person? They give fine lessons in moderation to us, from whom everything has been taken on high-flown pretexts, when it was said that everything has been given to us, when, at the insistence of the chauvinists, we are brought to the position that, on behalf of one nationality, all our aspirations that involve status are sequestered. Indeed, we must say that in such an absurdity there is a method that, analyzed, is simply that only one nationality ought to live in Hungary. Because it seems to us that those who say that we are ultraists are reasoning as follows: "You can live here with us, you can be like us. Give up one little thing: your language and nature. We Hungarians are people too, and if you will also become Hungarians, you will also remain people. But we are not even going so far with the demands. We are not asking you /all/ to become Hungarians at once. We are lenient. In the meantime, until some new law is passed with respect to language, you can speak your language at home with your wives and children; even in church you are allowed to say the Lord's Prayer, and /other/ prayers if you know them, in your language."

But we said that we too think, and we are not to blame for having this ability, as God gave it to us too--of course, without respect to our nationality.

Perhaps, from a Hungarian viewpoint, our also having the ability to think is a drawback. Perhaps the leaders of public opinion with a patent believe that in Hungary it will be enough if only one nationality and those who "repent" and join it think. Although not yet prohibited by any specific law, thinking in the other nationalities--those pioneers of chauvinism will be believing--is not only unnecessary but also dangerous for the integrity of the state and even for the /idea/ of the state.

Indeed, terrible politicians. It is clear that political leaders want to have their mission among beings who do not think, and they are afraid that a single unpatented thought will overturn even their /idea/ of the state.

Therefore, let us not wonder at other unexpected surprises, at the violation of our churches and the dwellings of the Romanian priests in various parts of the country, in search of arms, proclamations, and rubles (!!!), in the middle of the deepest peace.

Well, we have fought for years and are fighting these absurdities, but in vain. Because, the other day, some Hungarian newspapers again called us ultraists and attributed to us tendencies hostile both to the integrity of the state and to the idea of the Hungarian state.

In the face of all these things, like other nationalities, neither can we Romanians thus set ourselves at variance with God for the sake of the Hungarian politicians, because He also gave us the ability to think. And thinking, again we are not to blame if we reach the conclusion that we not only could but also have a /right/ to live in the state as Romanians, even at the risk of this not pleasing the Hungarian politicians.

And this right is based on the numerical ratio, on history and on law, and, finally, on our desire to contribute to the moral, intellectual, and material development of the homeland.

II. Before dealing with the numbers, we think that, of the states which are great powers and which the Hungarian newspapers like to mention when they write about the internal relations among the nationalities in Hungary, we will refer to the power that is less favorable to our treatise: England, or more precisely, the United Kingdom of Great Britain (England, Scotland, and Ireland or Hibernia). From the attitude of the Hungarian newspapers, both in the political columns and in the literary section, it is clear that they like to compare Hungary with Great Britain. And there the chief race is the English race, as in Hungary it is the Hungarian race. As the English language is the norm in Great Britain, consequently the Hungarian language must also be the only one in Hungary.

We leave aside the United Kingdom's historical development and this development's other circumstances, which, except for the ruling races, have nothing in which to be compared, and we take only the numerical ratio. In Great Britain there are 21,830,528 English, 3,925,000 Scots, and 6,087,067 Irish.

Therefore, the numerical ratio is 21 to 9 if we consider the Scots, who are very Anglicized, or 24 to 6 if we add the Scots to the English; or some 24 million of the ruling race and 6 million Irish, who are still fighting to gain a position equal to the other inhabitants of the United Kingdom.

It cannot be a question here of France, Italy, and even Germany, since the numerical ratios of the French in France, etc. are so high vis-a-vis the elements that do not belong to the ruling race in those states that the latter disappear precisely like the 20,000 Congo people among Romania's 5 million.

After this short digression, we return to us in Hungary.

However, here in Hungary the Hungarians are not the promoters of a colossal trade or of a gigantic industry with which they may control markets almost the world over; they do not have the capability of establishing big colonies on remote continents; they do not have even a literature so rich and a language more widespread than any other of those that are spoken on the face of the earth; and besides all these things, the Hungarians are much less numerous than the other nationalities.

At the end of 1880, the population of Hungary, together with Croatia, was 15,696,206 inhabitants.

Regarding the tendency of Magyarization, it is hard to say exactly how many of these inhabitants are of such and such a nationality. The Magyarizing tendency has helped greatly to muddle the numerical ratio among the nationalities. The bodies entrusted with the last conscription (1880) believed that they were doing a patriotic service if they would do things so that the "Hungarians" column would be as favorable as possible. From all the nationalities, they nibbled more, less, in the numerical favor of the Hungarians, along with what it was possible to get by Magyarizing the names.

Still, according to the official data, the numerical ratio in the countries of the Hungarian crown is: 5,874,500 Hungarians, 2,996,000 Romanians, 2,496,000 Serbo-Croatians, 2,068,500 Germans, 1,848,200 Slovaks, and 460,000 Ruthenians.

Therefore, despite the official statistics, the ruling race comes to only half of the other population. Therefore, there are only relative majorities and minorities in Hungary, and we believe that the century of /equal entitlement/ does not allow any relative majority the privilege of absorbing the relative minorities by official means.

If the nationalities insist on their right to existence, this should not surprise anyone, nor should it anger anyone. The nature of the state of Hungary is one of various nationalities, and since this is so, why could they not all live together as the Germans, French, and Italians live together in Switzerland or as the French and the Flemings live together in Belgium?

As regards us Romanians, the Hungarian coinhabitants should then know that we are the /second/ most numerous nationality in Hungary after the Hungarian nationality, and so, if we insist on the right to existence, we do it with the same right with which they also insist on theirs. Because, however, we want to remain what we are, that is, Romanians, they have not surpassed us and never will surpass us in patriotism. And if we were ever against them, the reason was not our poor patriotism, but the fear of the endangerment of our existence by their great zeal to denationalize us.

In our opinion, those Hungarians who are working with so much zeal to denationalize the nationalities are bad politicians. They are not only ignoring the numerical ratio, which runs counter to the policy of denationalization, but are also overlooking other circumstances that are closely connected with that ratio. Well, in the states in which smaller fragments lose their nationality, this process does not occur by official means but occurs by itself. The minorities of one-third and one-fifth of a percent themselves seek assimilation with the ruling nationality, or although they do not seek it, it happens by itself with time. Moreover, the ruling race in ratios like those mentioned is capable of absorbing the assimilated fragments. However, it is impossible for a nationality of 5 million to assimilate 9 million, especially under the /ethnographic/ and /geographic/ circumstances under which the nationalities of Hungary exist.

Were Hungary to enclose itself for at least 150 years in a Great Wall of China through which no one on the outside could pass, even then the attempt at assimilation in such disproportionate dimensions would be a daring operation.

Fortunately for the nationalities and unfortunately for the unfortunate idea of Magyarization, Hungary is not absolutely independent, since, through the pact of 1867, its fate is linked to the other part of the monarchy, which has taken a temporary name, /Cisleitania/. There the numerical ratio among the various nationalities in nearly the same proportions is about the same as in our "Transleitania." But there--and on this we must put the accent--the nationalities are respected more, although the German element has more and greater reasons for assimilating other nationalities. The Germans are one of the awesome races in Europe, have a culture superior to even the young Hungarian culture, have a great, colossal literature, we could say, and, besides all these things, also have the relative majority in Cisleitania. However, the Germans are not doing what the Hungarian nationality is doing.

The Hungarian politicians should note well this circumstance and draw a lesson from it.

The Germans are not leery of the feelings of the coinhabiting nationalities as are the Hungarians. The strong empire of Germany, which would be capable of absorbing without great efforts the 5-6 million Czechs and Slovenes who are in the way, invites the nationalities when it would open its arms to receive them. And some 50 million Germans would not exactly have great difficulties in overrunning some 5-6 million Slavs.

On the contrary, the Hungarians are leery of the feelings of the nationalities who surround them; say, 5-6 million Hungarians should handle with kid gloves the nationalities that surround them. More haughty than the English with their Irish, they should not talk down to the nationalities. It is clear that they do not know either the geography of their homeland or the ethnographic ratios within it. First and foremost of everything that we have already mentioned, Hungary is not completely independent; moreover, it is not isolated by seas like Great Britain. In the middle of flat country, on wide and open plains, there are hardly 4 million in all. But even this compact mass is dotted with a million Jews, Germans, and Slavs. In the western area they are surrounded by Germans, who reach to the heart of the country and are supported by the German colossus in the contact that they have with the Styrian and Austrian Germans. They are surrounded in the northern area by Germans, Slovaks, and Ruthenians and in the southern area by Yugoslavs who are adjacent to the Yugoslavs on the Balkan Peninsula. Finally, to the east, they are surrounded by Romanians. The latter form a great mass between the Tisa and the Carpathians, and although it is dotted with Hungarians, Saxons, and Jews, they have the advantages that they hold the eastern gate of the state in their hands and that the natural fortress to the east, Transylvania, is inhabited, in the great majority, by them and they are, so to speak, in direct contact with the millions of Romanians between the Danube, the Black Sea, and the Nistru.

These geographic and ethnographic factors are of considerable political importance. They require the Hungarian politicians to keep the nationalities tied to the Hungarian state through devotion. They claim that things in the Hungarian state would be set up so that everyone may find happiness and the possibility of development here and not elsewhere. They should be as considerate as possible especially of the Romanians, so that in the future, together with

them, it would be possible to fight the Pan-Slavic and Pan-German waves that, sooner or later, will try to start a fight on their and our account.

III. The chauvinists who want to exclude the non-Hungarian nationalities in Hungary from the /right/ to exist had to rack their brains a lot. With the statistical data, they have seen, since 1869, that they would not manage it, because, despite all the fraud, they have to see that a numerical preponderance of the Hungarian nationality, in an overwhelming majority, is impossible.

They have thus sought deliverance by another means that seemed to them to be more suitable. Clearly, they have thought to make the bigger nationalities dependent on the grace of the ruling nationality. To this end, the Romanians had to be deprived of the continuity of their habitation on the territory that they occupy and returned to the 13th and 14th centuries as servants, as nomadic shepherds, as parasites on the sole Hungarian natives, giving them only a right to a problematic existence dependent on the benevolence of the masters of the situation. The chauvinists believed and believe that in this they have found the right to treat them as their masters wish, and one who does not like it can go, as Mr Tisza said years ago, to Bucharest.

To give a gloss of soundness to the hypothesis of the Romanians' departure and return, the writer Hunfalvy¹ assumed in his work "The Ethnography of Hungary" the task of "proving," with "the history in hand," that there was no mention of the Romanians when the Hungarians settled in the areas inhabited by them.

However, bewilderment besets the author of the hypothesis borrowed from a predecessor of his, Roesler, when he sees that he is somewhat entangled in the adopted hypothesis. Because when he is compelled to say that the Romanians oppressed in the 15th century in their freedoms given by the "holy kings" of Hungary [words missing from source], he tries to get out of the entanglement with an exclamation, from which the suffering of the entangled man transpires, by saying: "This part of history is still covered by much /darkness/!"

Someone taking only a cursory look through Mr Hunfalvy's work, on which a theory of public law is to be based, as a number of Hungarians want, must find that much /darkness/ exists everywhere in that work, like some true photographs of the darkness by which the author was surrounded when he wrote it.

Consequently, we did not doubt and cannot doubt that all the truth that can be found in Mr Hunfalvy's book is only in his quoted sentence.

And it is natural for this to be so.

When the moon passes between the sun and the earth and, blocking the sunlight, puts the earth in its shadow, the world says that the sun is dark. However, the sun is aware that there is still a sun. When Mr Hunfalvy's desire to please the chauvinism of his adopted nationality--and for the price of this pleasure he provides a pleasing hypothesis, as a basis for an even more pleasing theory for a public law, to the detriment of one nationality or another or of all the non-Hungarian nationalities--when, we say, this desire passes between the historical truth and him, then he is right to exclaim that history

is dark, although the historical truth is no darker than the sun when the moon passes between the sun and the earth.

Roesler advanced the historical hypothesis reproduced by Hunfalvy because he had a goal, which neither Hunfalvy nor his supporters understand, or want to understand. Of course, Roesler would have thought to undermine the continuity of a population of over 10 million at the mouths on the Danube, to encourage the Hungarians in a fight to exterminate the Romanians. He would have thought that the Hungarians and the Romanians would destroy each other in this fight, and those who would remain after their effort in this war of destruction would not have the right to autochthony. The consequences go further and they indicate the rumble like thunder in the distance. The Hungarian chauvinists have neither eyes nor a feeling for such a thing. Intoxicated by ephemeral successes, they have begun, through their present renegades, to work at the future ruination of their state. They do not see that a polyglot state between two colossuses of races would also ensure their existence for centuries onward, while a state that absorbs nationalities must cause resentment and destructive conflict, which is especially dangerous precisely for them.

"The Ethnography of Hungary" asserts that the Hungarians found the regions of the Tisa and Transylvania vacant, and consequently, they occupied more than conquered them, and that the Ruthenians and other Slavs--except for the Moravians and Slovenes, in the western part of Hungary--and the Romanians came later to the areas occupied by the Hungarians.

Here, therefore, is the power of the Hungarian hypothesis, and hence the darkness that bewilders the supporter of the hypothesis must also follow.

In a newspaper article we cannot stop to discuss all the details of a work of 378 pages, a big octavo, in small print (small pica). However, we pose the question, of course: On what is this hypothesis based? The answer: On the ignorance or silence of a historian "born to the purple" (Constantine Porphyrogenitus). He does not mention any other power with which the Hungarians would have fought, and hence Mr Hunfalvy deduces that no one existed in the eastern area if no mention is made of anyone with whom the Hungarians would have fought on their settlement in present-day Hungary and Transylvania.

Therefore, the region from the Tisa to here was deserted, and yet, the Hungarians pressed beyond the poor Moravians and Slovenes, to the Pannonian area, and waited with the "deserted" places for the Romanians, Ruthenians, Serbs, Saxons, and so on, to give those places to them. According to such assertions, it would seem that the Hungarians left Tangut or Irtysh in Siberia with the noble intention even then of holding the best spot in the countries that they were to occupy on both sides of the middle Danube for the Romanians, who had not yet decided then to leave the country of rice, raisins, and olives to settle in the forests of the Carpathians and on the plains around them.

It is clear that Mr Tisza did not hold the reins of power then and, moreover, that Mr Tisza does not have the power of those then, because, of course, the Romanians would be beyond the Bosphorus and the Dardanelles, if not exactly in the Promised Land, in Palestine.

It is strange how the oldest chroniclers of the /Hungarians/ can tell about /Romanians/ organized into principalities or duchies back on the arrival of the Hungarians in this area, while, according to the modern historians, there was not a trace of a Romanian. It is amazing how historians like Gibbon and Mommsen were able to stray and let the Romanians live here from Trajan to our times. But it is even more amazing that some "shepherds" who "stole in" "sur-reptitiously" and "stealthily," hundreds of years after settlement by the Hungarians, "when there was no longer any mention of the ancient Romans," had, of course, such a keen sense of smell that they occupied precisely the same territory that the Romans had had; and that these "newcomers" were not absorbed by the nationality that had already settled here centuries before, but they, the "newcomers," in a relatively short time, barely 100 years, as Mr Hunfalvy also admits, or even sooner, absorbed Cumans and Bisseni and Slavs, even "the Hungarians in the county of Hunedoara," and developed so much power that, at the start of the 14th century (1303), in Maramures there was a /duke/ named Nicolae, the son of the /count/ of Ugocia and Maramures, the country was filled with lesser district heads, and the rural people had soared to an almost independent position, paying some insignificant taxes.

Thus comparing the facts as Mr Hunfalvy and his supporters, that is, the chauvinists, describe them, on the one hand, with the facts as the historical documents show them, on the other hand, we cannot but come to the bizarre conclusion that as soon as the Hungarians settled in Hungary, they wrote charters for the Romanians, whom they expected to come, and the first thing when they arrived was that the Romanians also received, some of them, posts of dukes, posts of counts, posts of district leaders, magistrates, etc. etc.

If history is made up by overlooking the facts and the results of the facts, it is clear that not the true history but that made up for party purposes must become darkened.

Far be it from us to ignore the diligence in Mr Hunfalvy's study for glorifying the Hungarian nationality. On the contrary, we believe that if Mr Hunfalvy had wanted to, he would have been able to write a work that would have created a sensation in the literature of Europe. However, when someone is obliged "da capo" to produce historical /darkness/, it is natural that he must distort, doctor, ignore the very things that stand in the way of his goal, and then the work becomes a weaker incantation than a lullaby.

However, no one will fool us Romanians with empty words.

When we are obliged to consider our antecedents, first of all, we come to question the fable exploited with so much partiality by our "friends" regarding the evacuation or abandonment of Dacia under Emperor Aurelian.

We repeat again that we cannot do historical recensions in an article, but seeing how much weight is put on this fable, and not from scientific interest but from political interest, we will give some data which cannot be questioned and which those who politicize history avoid or "/darken/." We do it at least to counter in this way falsehoods that have become contagious.

In many places it is said that the Romans abandoned Dacia in 272, crossing the Danube, bag and baggage. It is not said exactly why, without it being said in general that Dacia could no longer be held because of the Gothic invasions. However, we read that at the same time a revolution had broken out in Asia. Therefore, Aurelian took legions from Dacia and went with them against the Parthians. If the Goths were so dangerous then, Aurelian would not have been able to take troops from Dacia but would have defended it until he would have won or would have been defeated. However, it is clear that at that time there was no great danger from that area. After the turbulence of the Roman troops, Aurelian did not even reach Asia, because he was murdered "ἐν τῇ χαλκίδι" (Syncellus, Zonaras). It is not said what was done with the legions, but in 276, Marcus Claudius Tacitus took them from Dacia again to lead them against the Scythians in Asia (Katona in "Synopli Chronicarum"). In 279, Emperor Probus (according to Zosimus), likewise in Dacia, faced the Getae and Bastarnae, who had occupied part of northeastern Dacia. In 282, Marcus Aurelius Carus defeated the Sarmatians beyond the Nistru. Constantine the Great defeated (332) the Goths on /Sarmatian/ territory (Paulus Diaconus). Emperor Valentinian crossed the Danube (Ammianus Marcellinus) to punish the Goths, who were bothering the Romans on the left bank of the Danube. The Roman influence stopped completely only with the death of Emperor Mauricius, at the start of the 7th century. Therefore, what would have caused all the Romans to flee Dacia nearly 4 centuries earlier?

The hack historians try to impose on the multitude with high-flown names of barbarian peoples, with kings and business, while the barbarians were some savage travelers, in groups, and sought, on the one hand, to escape those who were pushing them from behind and, on the other hand, to live easily off others. The word "hoti" [thieves] in the Romanian language comes from "goti" [Goths], whom it suited to a tee to get their hands on what their eyes saw. Thierry, a historian and a member of the French Academy, says that it suited the barbarians to not drive away the inhabitants of the countries through which they passed. Naturally. To people who not like to work but to live on loot, it is convenient to have someone to loot. And since their agitation was not exactly so awesome, it is clear that the barbarians set less value on them than do certain historians of today. A Roman prefect in Gaul (Aetius) assembled all the barbarian "majesties" of the western Goths, the French, and the Saxons, under his leadership, to fight the most terrifying band in those times, that of another "majesty," Attila.

Consequently, at a time when the looters were jostling each other to get at the riches of the Roman Empire, why would the Romans have fled Dacia? In any case, the barbarians were going only where they could also go through the Balkan Peninsula, through Italy, Gaul, and Spain. And earlier, as long as the power of the legions was still able to protect it, why would Dacia's entire population have moved to Media? This is so absurd, because Media had its inhabitants and was both far smaller than Dacia and, besides, just as subject to invasions. Consequently, to require someone to believe historical inventions such as the biased politicians invent is to require us to also believe the tale about the /Szeklers/, that, namely, they would have asked a painter to paint Christ life-size on a little board as big as a palm.

There is no doubt that the Romans in the areas where the barbarians invaded did not have a peaceful life. The wars then were combined with brutality more inhuman than in our time. On the first invasion, the empire's inhabitants, especially in the cities, withdrew to places that offered them safety. Steps would certainly have been taken so that the archives and public houses did not fall into the hands of the barbarians. Such a thing occurs even in our times, when wars are fought between the armies of modern states. Especially in the time of the Huns, flight or withdrawal was very normal, because when the Huns surrounded a city for a long time and then took it, they killed those who came before them and burned and devastated the cities, so that some disappeared completely from the face of the earth forever and others for a long time.

However, the withdrawal or flight of the inhabitants was not the same as the general abandonment of the provinces. The barbarians, as we said, were transitory, and their empires ephemeral. Roman politicians then still did not give up so easily their claims to the provinces of the empire. Therefore, the factors that would have caused the people accustomed to stability to take the barbarians as a model and to embark on journeys in the wide world were absent.

Moreover, it should also be considered that even in the empire the fate of the people was not brilliant. The empire was on the decline, and the people, that is, their labor and sweat, was exploited by the powerful, who knew how to amass great wealth in their hands. Therefore, the people possessed /freedom/ only in name in the /empire/ and did not lose much, but only changed masters. Exploited earlier by the Romans, they then had to give to the foreigners some of what they earned by their sweat. Hieronymus, Priscus, and Salvianus, all three Romans, note that, depending on the circumstances, the Romans were somewhat better off under the barbarians than in the Roman Empire and that the Romans did not exactly have a great desire to be reincorporated into the empire. Priscus, the imperial representative from New Rome (Constantinople) to Attila's court, says that he met a Roman who was doing very well among the Huns and had attained great influence. The same Priscus also says that, in Attila's court, the Romans were in important positions and the Roman language was heard being spoken at his meals.

We would stretch too far if we were to list all the factors that can still be listed to show that the Romans did not abandon Dacia with the ease with which some writers move them across the Danube.

Mr Hunfalvy--I believe, not on his own, but also from Roesler--found a very weighty factor against the continuity of the Romans in their church, because he says: "Up to the 14th century no one mentions the Romanian church."

We regret that we must limit ourselves very greatly regarding this point too. It seems that, in this respect, Mr Hunfalvy imagines from the outset a Hungary converted purely and simply to the Western (Roman Catholic) Church. He disregards later the Western Church's antagonism toward the Eastern Orthodox Church, and he draws conclusions from these premises.

Christianity gradually penetrated the Roman Empire. Only in the 4th century do we see it come to be recognized by the state. However, the first

barbarians who invaded the Roman Empire, the Goths, were Christians. Their Christianity came from contact with the Roman Empire, before arriving in Dacia, before they were on the Black Sea's northern shores. Ulfilas, born in Cappadocia and captured with his parents by the Goths, around 256, was the foremost apostle of the Goths. First Orthodox and later Arian, he introduced Arianism among the Goths. A contemporary of his, Maximinus, a bishop in the Danubian area (in Dacia?), was the first author of Ulfilas' biography. Thus, a sign that Christianity then existed in Dacia. Philostorgius attests later that Ulfilas was ordained in the Roman Empire. The history of the Christian Church in those times tells us clearly that Arianism spread very heavily in the East. When it was eradicated, Eastern Arianism was still Orthodox.

On the arrival of the Hungarians, the religion that had to be more widespread in this area was the Eastern Orthodox religion. The oldest information attests to this. King Stephen himself founded an Orthodox monastery (Veszprem) in Hungary. The circumstance that King Stephen accepted and introduced the Latin rite has no other importance than the introduction of an innovation, on whose dissemination, at the urging of the popes, the ensuing kings of Hungary also insisted so much.

Consequently, the Romanians, who were Christians, as Jung also attests, referring to "vita S. Sabae si Nicetae," back in the 3d century, had to be Orthodox, since only the first Hungarian king began to introduce Catholicism in Hungary. Therefore, Mr Hunfalvy himself cannot dispute the Orthodox Church organized with bishops in 1234, whom Pope Gregory IX called "false bishops." And if the Orthodox Church was organized into dioceses in 1234, this was not possible overnight in a population that then, according to Mr Hunfalvy and his Professor Roesler, was on the way, so to speak, to this region.

The place where these bishops lived is of little importance. It is enough that they existed. And if the pope ordered King Bela to force the /Romanians/ to become Catholic, they certainly had to be in Hungary, where the kings were able to have some influence over them.

We cannot stretch further, because we cannot make up history. However, even this much is enough to dispel the bewilderment of those who want to dispute our continuity in this regard too.

Mr Hunfalvy, like his formulary Roesler, also deduces the interruption of the Romanians' existence in the area of Dacia from the circumstance that old names were not preserved, as occurred elsewhere. In his book "Romer und Romanen," Jung shows Roesler's and thus Hunfalvy's historical ignorance or insincerity. Jung says that a number of rivers have kept the names of Roman cities up to the present, which proves that the Roman population's continuity was never interrupted. Thus, he mentions: the valley of the Ampoi, which kept the name /Ampelum/; Barzava, a side river of the Timis, which kept the name of the /Bersovia/ spa; and Cerna, of the /Zerna/ colony. And in the time of the Romans, the region of the Somes was called "Samus." Jung also lists other names of rivers and mountains that belong to the Roman and Romanian language.

Regarding the names of the cities destroyed by the barbarians who followed each other at relatively short intervals over 9 centuries, they were not preserved as they are in itineraries. It makes sense that between hurricanes that last /9/ centuries it is hard to rebuild destroyed cities and to erect cities anywhere. Nevertheless, this question is far harder than can be answered by a simple denial or by the assertion that the names are all of Slavonic and Hungarian origin. The modern names of the cities in the area of the former Dacia ought to be subjected to a more thorough study than has been done thus far, but by our people. According to the names of the cities and villages as they are today, it is also clear that especially the Hungarian ones are largely made up, in regions inhabited by Romanians, from the Romanian names, some so that you can no longer know their origin and so that they appear to be original Hungarian ones. It is clear that Mr Hunfalvy puts great weight on this circumstance and says many times, proudly, that such and such a place is called so in the Hungarian language, and he forgets or, what is more likely, does not know if that place also has a Romanian name.

But what do things that still are not studied sufficiently have to say regarding circumstances that prove that in 1164 the Romanians were in the vicinity of Galicia? That is, before the date that Roesler and, after him, Hunfalvy provide for them to be able to "slip" across the Danube into the former Dacia.

Therefore, the circumstance that, under Aurelian, the Romans did not go from Dacia across the Danube, bag and baggage; the circumstance that up to the start of the 7th century, not only were Romans found on the territory of Dacia, but also the political ties with Old or New Rome were /interrupted/ but not ended; that in the 12th century the Romanians were neighbors with Galicia, that is, in the extreme north of Dacia, which would not have been possible if they had begun to cross the Danube to settle there only in the 13th century; the circumstance that the place names are preserved in the Romanian language and since they may seem problematic, they are not studied sufficiently; this supports us in the continuity of the habitation of the Romans developing (by assimilating the barbarians who settled permanently beside them) into Romanians. Hence it follows that the old chroniclers of the Hungarians, no matter how "poetic" they are--and therefore scorned by the modern "scholars"--describe the arrival of the Hungarians in our area more closely to the truth than the political /shoemakers/, who stretch the poor leather of history over their political lasts according to "pragmatic" forms, without a bit of consideration for the historical truth.

Thus, when the Hungarians arrived, they found the Romanians where they are even now, in political and church organizations. Besides what was said above and besides the kernel stripped of the poetry of the Hungarian chroniclers, what Mr Hunfalvy also has to admit about "libertates sanctorum regum," given to the Romanians and later demanded by them, entitles us to this assumption.

The Hungarians were a relatively less numerous people than the other barbarian peoples. Driven three times from the territories where they were, it was then the fourth homeland that they sought. Mr Hunfalvy says that the areas now inhabited by Romanians in Hungary proper and Transylvania were more /occupied/ than /conquered/. The anonymous chronicler tells us of clashes with the

Romanians and of reconciliations and cooperation. From both kinds of suppositions it is clear that the Romanian organizations then were vigorous, and the Hungarians were not able to become masters over them by force. Consequently, the Hungarians sought fortune with the sword more toward the west than toward the east. The battle that the Germans gave them on the Lech Plain tamed them and they gave up conquests and looting and contemplated a peaceful life.

Once set on this path, they began to organize among themselves and also to adopt the already existing organizations.

At this point, it is clear that their kings thought it wise to be able to curb sooner the unrestrained passions of the element inclined toward a warlike and predatory life. In this way the sentence of the first king can also be explained: "Regnum unius linguae imbecille et fragile est."

In the following, we will have a chance to see how the institutions found by the Hungarians were recognized and how they were only gradually eliminated, after Hungarian power took root in the former Pannonia, and how they leveled those institutions only in later times and then turned to the leveling of the nationalities.

IV. The development of public law and of law everywhere in the 3d-11th centuries in our present region can be followed very little or not at all. The traces are very rare and dubious. Nor could it be otherwise.

The barbarians who invaded did not bother with codifications of laws but more with how to make a living on the back of the population that they found cultivating the land, livestock, and industry. In this they were all united.

In form, however, they differed.

Some were true bandits. They took what they found and killed whoever appeared before them. Because their principle was to go onward, to other populations, on whom they would likewise prey.

Wiser ones presented themselves as "guests" or "protectors" and intruded by force into the possessions of the inhabitants. According to the Roman Empire's law of billeting, the inhabitants had to give them a third of their possessions. This was a "mild" procedure, and only in the case of resistance was it punished "extinctis habitatoribus" (by exterminating the inhabitants).

Therefore, the barbarians, as is obvious, brought few ducats with them. Their policy or diplomacy was very simple: They wanted to live without working. And so, except for considering themselves masters of the land, they did not interfere in the internal public affairs of the populations, as the latter did not interfere in their horde "discipline."

In "Roemer und Romanen," Jung says in this regard: "The common people remained at least in the position in which they were before: colonists or farmers of the new land, as once they were of the old owners. The Germans did not eliminate the population of the land occupied on Romanian territory. The

isolated tribes of the barbarians were not so numerous that they could do without the working powers that existed...."

From what Jung says later, it is clear that the Roman population maintained some independence under the Goths, as under the Huns.²

And Diefenbach³ says, like other writers, that the other barbarians too who followed did not settle permanently in the region of Dacia but went by like some predatory, murderous, and culture-destroying waves.

Only the Slavs were those who were more settled and who clearly had an influence on the language and public life of the Romanians.

However, the Romanian element, despite everything that it had to suffer up to the arrival of the Slavs, was still so strong that it absorbed them, like it also absorbed other fragments of peoples coming later.

The process of assimilation was so advanced that, on the arrival of the Hungarians, the Slavs who remained on the territory inhabited by Romanians were only sparse and on the way to assimilation. Today, if there were not other traces remaining of them in names of communes and families, it would seem that not one Slav visited the regions inhabited by Romanians in those times.

Consequently, the Romanians, imparting their nationality to the Slavs, also imparted their nationality to the institutions that were formed in the period up to the arrival of the Hungarians, wherever they may have developed.

When the Hungarians arrived in Pannonia, Romanian political organizations had to exist then at least in present-day Transylvania. We say "at least," although, as will be seen, these organizations had to be more widespread, because we find them both in the northeast and east of present-day Hungary proper and in the southeast of it, in Banat.

Therefore, the question has to be asked: How and in what relationship of public law were the Romanians able to be with the Hungarians at the start of their coinhabitation?

King Bela's anonymous notary indeed relates many wonders about the contact of the Hungarians with the Romanians so as, however, to neither suffer the glory of Hungarian arms nor to anger the Romanians. First of all, Anonymus proceeds from two viewpoints. Being a Latin bishop, he was conducting diplomacy in his chronicle in accordance with the time then. Clearly, through his history or chronicle, he wanted to attract the stubborn Hungarians to the Latin Christian Church; moreover, to make the Latin church as pleasant as possible to them, he filled the history with miraculous conquests achieved by the Hungarians. To this end, the fanatic bishop, according to the spirit of the time then, had to show divine visions in a dream to Almos' mother, albeit a pagan; the divine gift had to lead the Hungarians, as it had led Moses. And the battles of the pagan Hungarians were no less fortunate than were those of the Jews in the Old Testament. Anonymus forgot to say that the ladder stayed in place in order for him to view at leisure the bravery of the Hungarians.

Nevertheless, the kernel of the miraculous histories of Anonymus also contains something important for us: It tells us of the peoples whom the Hungarians encountered. They were the Slavs and then the Romanians.

The itinerary of the Hungarians, filled with wonders, agrees--in the essentials--with other chroniclers and other historians, even with Mr Hunfalvy's "Ethnography." Because we see from everything that when the Hungarians arrived in the regions where they are today, they avoided the "deserts" (Mr Hunfalvy), that is, the areas inhabited by Romanians, and encountered the Slavs, who lived to the west of the regions of the Romanians. The name that the Hungarians gave the Romanians, calling them "Vlachs" like the Slavs, also confirms this. The difference between the anonymous notary and Hunfalvy is only that the former mentions the Romanians and the latter does not want to know that Romanians existed in the former Dacia in those times.

Jung tells us that the Hungarians settled in Pannonia in the 9th century and lived there as a "nobility" among the subject Slavs, occupying themselves with war, hunting, and fishing: "Back in the 12th century, the Hungarians lived in tents and hated life in the cities."

From everything up to here, we do not yet see any relationship except that of neighbors between the Hungarians and the Romanians.

Therefore, the time when the Romanians first came in contact with the Hungarians must still be figured out. Both the old fables and the new ones do not give us clear answers in this regard.

From what has been mentioned, it can also be seen that the Hungarians did not bring with them either libraries with codified laws or archives. The multitude of terms taken to name the administrative and legal hierarchical institutions in the Middle Ages indicates that they borrowed many of them from the Slavs, before introducing the feudal system, borrowed later from their western neighbors, the Germans.

Therefore, since the Hungarians were not able to bring institutions for the Slavs, so they did not bring them for the Romanians either....

Consequently, when the Hungarians came in contact with the Romanians in the 11th century--because the first steady contact seems to us to have taken place then--the latter also had their developed institutions, which appear to have remained intact at first.

The following passage from Pic⁵ also entitles us to this assumption: "One who knows the history of Hungary only superficially will be amazed that in 1000, when Saint Stephen received the royal crown from Pope Sylvester, the crowned king possessed only a small part of the later kingdom of Hungary: the former principality of Pannonia and the land to the south of Lake Balaton; the region of /Timisan Banat/, all of /Transylvania/, and, according to "Chronica Hungarorum," all of Slovakia did not belong to his new kingdom, and later, when Timisan Banat and Transylvania were conquered (?) by Saint Stephen, they did not come into the direct possession of the king."

In order to be able to judge the circumstances buried not only in the remoteness of the centuries but also in the various interests of those who have concerned themselves thus far with the situation in the times of the first contact of the Hungarians with the Romanians, we must have clear ideas of the factors in those times.

The Hungarians, a barbarian people, fond of wars and of raids for loot, found room among Slavs with some social order, but not strong enough to resist the first invasion. Eastward, likewise with their social order, the Romanians, avoided by the Hungarians--by force or by choice, it is not possible to know. Westward, the German Roman Empire, which was still in the making, and southward, the Eastern Roman Empire on the decline, and other fragments of peoples.

Less numerous than the Goths or Huns, after some ill-fated attempts with arms, their leaders, weighing well the circumstances, chose stability and civilization. To this end, on the one hand, they had to borrow institutions for themselves and, on the other hand, they had to enter into relations of alliance or federation with the peoples among whom and near whom they lived. This was all the harder as the mass of the improvident Hungarian people, who were not aware of the relationships in which they were, persisted in the savage life to which they were accustomed from the original homeland from which they had come.

The desire of the leaders to find support in the peoples with whom the Hungarians were then in contact transpires right from the miraculous chronicles of the Hungarians, which relate, for example, the Hungarians to the Romanians.⁶ However, this desire is seen more clearly from the words that were put in the mouth of the first Hungarian king, who tried to base his domination on /the diversity of languages/.

Therefore, first the Slavs and after them the Romanians in their duchies (Maramures, Banat, Transylvania, Fagaras) had to be the first elements on which the founders of the Hungarian state relied. They, as federates, that is, their institutions, were what gave rise to the rule of law and the consolidation of the Hungarian kingdom.

Consequently, the relationship between the Hungarians and the Romanians immediately after contact appears to be a federalist relationship.

The introduction of feudalism, by King Stephen, as is claimed, did not hurt the Romanians at first. The Romanians continued in their national law as regards ownership, military service, administration, and justice. The decrees of the kings and counts began to be regulations particularly /for the nobility/ only during the 13th century. Not only did the Romanians in Hungary have their own old rights, but also the colonizing visitors coming later were administered and judged by themselves, that is, by the institutions that they brought with them--for example, the Saxons and the Szeklers.

As we said, however, in the above-mentioned century (1222), we find the first change in the relations up to then. Fearing the power of the kings, the nobility extracted the so-called Golden Bull from King Andrew II.

The Golden Bull gave rise to a new direction in the restriction of national rights and in the centralization of the kingdom.

Perhaps this new direction spurred Radu Negru in Fagaras and, later, Dragoș in Maramures to seek new homelands in Romanian regions to the south and east of the Carpathians, regions that were once invaded by barbarians.

From the sources that are at our disposal, it is clear that the consequences of the Golden Bull were felt not all at once but in succession.

In Maramures and in the neighboring county of Ugocia, at the start of the 14th century (1303), we find situations that prove that the Romanians of those times still had favorable conditions. A duke at the head of them, their own administration in all branches, the peasants themselves without heavy taxes. Then we find Duke Nicolae, who was called, in a document of those times, "nobilis vir et honestus...Vaivoda."

And after Dragoș' migration, around 1363-1392, there are traces of Romanian voivodes in Maramures. The villages had their magistrates (mayors), and the villagers paid "quinguagesima" and some trifling taxes to the royal castellans. The trials among them followed their national laws. In a document from 1378, we find that Queen Elizabeth, in matters of jurisdiction, said, among other things: "...quare fidelitati vestrae...mandamus quatenus praedictos knezios et olahos nostros in nullis causis judicare sitis ausi...si quidem autem actiones contra ipsos habetis...in presentia...officialis eorundem olachorum prosequi debeatis...jude observato aliud non facturum."

Banat was under similar conditions, with a strengthening of kings from a little later to the middle of the 15th century. In a document from 1457, King Ladislaus says, among other things, after explaining why he was strengthening the institutions ("in custodia et tuitione vadorum Danubii): "...omnia et singula eorundem Valachorum et Kneziorum privilegia super quibuscunque eorumque libertatibus, Praerogativis et Juribus confecta...."

The difference between Maramures and Banat, if it can be a question of a difference, is that there was not a duke at the head of the latter, but a /ban/ (ruler), who, for a while, was also simultaneously the ruler of Walachia and of Fagaras and Amias. And the ban, like the duke, represented the territory subject to his jurisdiction and, besides it, the general congregation of "Walachian districts." There was also the difference that in this century we see that, regarding these districts, King Ladislaus decreed "like /his/ predecessors: nullo unquam tempore alicui extraneo possessiones et villas donare.... Et quod huiusmodi 8 Districtus ab invicem non separabimus, nec aliquan ex eis donabimus sed S. Regni coronae...vincitos tenebimus."

Which is to say that the region had to be kept intact and untransferred.

Regarding Transylvania, we read, among other things, in Kemeny a document from 1363, which begins: "Nos Petrus Vice-Vajuoda Transylvanus...judicium et justitiam facere debemus," which, on the one hand, shows us the separate government of Transylvania under dukes and vice dukes and in which, on the other

hand, it is seen that in a trial "...coram nobis et regni nobilibus de comitatu Hunyad ac universis Kenezis et senioribus olachalibus Districtus Baczak comparendi assignassetus...."

The Byzantine writers also attest that elsewhere in Transylvania, that is, beyond the county of Hunedoara, there were conditions like those described for the Romanians, when they describe King Sigismund's war with Sultan Bayazid (1391). Those writers say that the /Dacians/ or /Vlachs/, whom they call "hominum generi non ignobili," were governed "proprio jure propriisque legibus"; later: "Jussi proficisci in militiam, regi parante, tributum ferentes quando cumque illis imperabit, solummodo petentes, ut sibi proprio jure, suisque legibus, rempublicam administrare liceat."

Fagaras (/Terra Fugros/) was less affected by the Golden Bull. A document from 1231 ascribes the right of Romanian ownership to the times of "Bulgarian" rule. The documents are contradictory in regard to this area. It would seem, according to some documents, that /Terra Fugros/ was held in the 13th century by Romania (Muntenia, Valahia) and, according to others, that the transalpine rulers held feudal control over it. It is the task of history to solve the problem in regard to the /affiliation/ of Fagaras in the above-mentioned centuries. With the historical writings up to now being written mainly by Romanian authors, they leave us wondering. As our purpose is not to make up history, we only /mention/ this circumstance and put before the readers some quotations. The historian Fejer, for example, tells us of a document from 1369 that begins as follows: "Ladislaus, Dei et regis Hungariae gratia Wayuoda Transalpinus et Banus de Zeverino nec non dux de Fogaras..."; in the same place there is another document that begins: "Vladislaus Vajuoda Transalpinus Banus de Zeverino et dux novae plantationis terra Fugaras"; also in the same place, from 1390: "Mircius Dei gratia Vajuoda Transalpinus, Fogaras et Olmas dux Severini, Comes terrarum Dobrodicii despotus et Tristi dominus."

From everything up to here and from many others, which cannot be quoted here, it is clear that, even after closer contact with the Hungarians and after the start of the new direction, the Romanians kept an independent position for a long time, and what is more interesting, they also had contact with the Romanians on the Danube.

However, the kings of Hungary, especially those in the 13th and 14th centuries, gradually accepted the Romanians into the Hungarian nobility. Despite all the reservations of the kings with certain territories, as we saw in Banat, through this acceptance, the caste of the nobles grew and prospered. The strengthening of this caste gradually limited the national rights of the Romanians. The kings themselves, as we saw from the document quoted from the time of Queen Elizabeth, had to intervene occasionally to impede the interference of the nobility in the rights of the nonnobles.

/Roman Catholic/ propaganda was another disastrous circumstance for the national rights of the Romanians, which also suited the kings greatly. Acceptance into the nobility was combined with this propaganda. Each Romanian, if he became a noble, also gave up the religion of his conationals. The severity with which steps were taken against the nobles who "contempta Religione fidei

Christiane, secte csismatice Wolachorum...adhesive dicuntur," is seen from documents from the time of King Ladislaus. Along with this severity went the limitation of the rights of the Romanian magistrates. King Louis (1366) had already ordered that only four magistrates, who were confirmed by royal letters, could be considered like the nobles, and the others would be considered "de homines comunes sau olahos."

Of course, external circumstances would also have contributed to this development. The progress that the two principalities beyond the Carpathians made and the failure of Carol Robert and his successors to subjugate them accelerated the process directed against Romanian national rights.

The 15th century shows us the culmination of the direction in question. The nobility, strong enough to advance with greater and greater and more and more oppressive demands on the people, sought factors with which to ally in order to be able to keep its power.

To this end, the Romanians who had still preserved rights for their services, such as, for example, those of the Saligo (Saliste) camp, with its affiliations, and of the Talmaciu camp, with its affiliations, were administratively incorporated into the praetorium of Sibiu; the people of Bran into that of Brasov; and the people of Rodna into that of Bistrita. These regions were not subject to anyone and, by virtue of royal decrees (Sigismund, 1428; Ladislaus, 1453; Matthias, 1464, 1467, and 1464), had the same rights as the praetoriums into which they were incorporated; however, they no longer had full administrative independence as before.

In 1437, which marks an era in the history of the Romanians, especially in Transylvania, they faced the nobility allied with the Saxons and with the Szeklers, these latter settled, as Mr Hunfalvy's asserts, by the kings of the Arpadian house on the eastern edge of Transylvania.

This development of things was dangerous not only for the Romanians but also for the kingdom of Hungary. This development backfired in 1526, destroying the kingdom and breaking it into several pieces. Under the influence of the strong nobility, also supported, as we said, by circumstances, the kings confirmed its demands and were then no longer able to hinder the indicated beginning. The burdens on the shoulders of the oppressed population took on wide dimensions then. Moreover, they became unbearable. Conflict could not be avoided.

The excessive demands of the Transylvanian Catholic bishop (Lepes demanded the remaining tithe for 10 years) and the desire to tie to the land part of the people deprived successively of the right of ownership caused the uprising in 1437, with which the oppressed who belonged to the Hungarian nationality also affiliated themselves. The uprising ended in favor of the oppressed population. In October 1437, the nobility, the Szeklers and Saxons, and its allies, had to enter into an agreement, which was to be presented to the king (Sigismund) for approval. However, the king died in December of the same year.

The nobility and its allies, despite the agreement, with the king also dying then, renewed the alliance with the Szeklers and Saxons, and the fighting began anew. With the renewed struggle ending to the detriment of the oppressed population, it remained in a precarious position. From then on, we no longer encounter documents that would say that in 1291 "...quod universis nobilibus, saxonibus, Syculis et Olachis in partibus transilvanis...pro reformatione status eorundem congregationem cum eisdem fecissemus."

Nevertheless, up to the 17th century we find the Romanians in Transylvania with their magistrates and their rural constitution. The laws that declared the Romanians deprived of rights and made them serfs in every way date only from after Michael's death. But even this did not extend to all Romanians, because the boyars in the region of Fagaras, who had received their /boyarship/ right from the transalpine rulers, and the rural nobles in other parts of Transylvania did not fall into this category.

Therefore, from everything, even from the saddest parts of the history of the Romanians, it results that the Romanians in Hungary and Transylvania had their land, either as hereditary property or as a possession by virtue of the "avitic consuetudinal" right (according to the old custom) and that even those who lost this right lost it as a result of the successive development of the internal circumstances, but not by virtue of conquest with the sword.

FOOTNOTES

1. Hundsorfer.
2. Jung says: "...behielten dieselben ihre Selbständigkeit vollkommen bei" (pp 183-184).
3. "Volkerkunde Osteuropas."
4. However, the Slavic names of families are even more recent, from external influences.
5. "Abstammung der Romanen."
6. Menumorut's daughter was married after Arpad's son--the anonymous notary says.

12105

CSO: 2700/212

INTERNATIONAL PROJECTS CONSTRUCTION WITH USSR VIEWED

Prague SVET HOSPODARSTVI in Czech 5 May 87 p 3

[Article by -vk-: "Construction of Integrated Projects"]

[Text] The participation of Czechoslovak organizations in the building of three large projects on USSR territory has recently been expanded; the projects include the gas line from Ymaburg to the Western border of the USSR (Progress), the Ural gas works in Karachaganak, and the Dolinskaya mining and processing works in Krivoi Rog.

Toward the end of 1986 about 1,100 Czechoslovak workers from the Plynostav in Pardubice, the Hydrostav in Bratislava, and the Engineering Constructions in Kosice worked in the sector of construction of the Progress gas line. Thus far, 250 workers from the enterprises of the Ostrava-Karvina Mine Construction in Ostrava and the Engineering Construction in Kosice participated in the construction of compressor centers. Dormitories with 2,200 beds and certain other facilities, including unloading bases for pipe materials, were completed.

In this sector of the gas line Czechoslovak workers laid out a 105 km long route mainly in the highlands of the Carpathian Mountains, delivered 49 km of pipelines of 1,420 diameter, and welded these pipes along a 25 km long route. The ground was broken and the foundations were laid for the 25 MW equipment in the compressor center in Bar and Bogorodchany. The value of these works amounted to almost Kcs 3.85 billion. The deliveries of materials for pipes, direct deliveries of housing modules and of Tatra trucks, among other things, are included in that amount.

In the latter part of 1986 about 600 workers were involved in the construction of the Ural gas line complex in Karachaganak. The main concern here is the building of housing and construction bases. The assembly of log buildings with 700 bed capacity and the building of two dining facilities, storerooms, and the necessary engineering networks was finished; additional facilities now under construction will house about 4,000 Czechoslovak workers this year. One building yard for industrial facilities and another for housing construction are now being built in the construction bases. Also, the works began in the first two drilling bases; a manufacturing plant for these bases which is now being assembled is made of Bulgarian steel frames which the Soviet partner acquired. Piles for the foundations were set in the first two residential buildings; each of them will contain 95 apartments. The total value of the construction works completed last year is Kcs 164.5 million.

Czechoslovak participation in the construction of the Dolinskaya mining and processing works in Krivoi Rog was expanded despite certain problems in the planning. Housing and dining facilities for 2,000 workers were completed last year according to the schedule for construction works. The groundwork for comprehensive housing construction of the first 120 residential units was completed in the first quarter of 1987. In late 1986 1,840 Czechoslovak workers took part in this project, and this year their numbers will be substantially increased. The costs expended toward the end of 1986 amounted to Kcs 685 million.

To achieve maximum efficiency of Czechoslovak participation in the building of these three integrated projects on USSR territory, a permanent state supervisory work team was established for this project in 1985. This team has already stipulated the methodology for the fulfillment of construction tasks and in cooperation with interested central agencies it drafted several specific documents, particularly special instructions for the financing, invoicing, payments, credits, appraisals, planning and fulfillment of these integrated projects.

Considerable attention is focused on specifications of the economic efficiency of these integrated projects, which concerns most of all the construction of the Dolinskaya iron ore works in Krivoi Rog. Its efficiency depends largely on the method of estimates and accounting of incurred costs. To come to grips with these problems, the Permanent Commission for Foreign Exchange and Financial Affairs proposed a list of multiple costs paid to the states whose contractor organizations are participating in joint construction projects that are not included in the construction budget or whose costs have been underestimated.

Specifically, this concerns, for instance, differences in labor costs, per diem, costs for the transfer of construction organizations, transportation costs, multiple overhead costs, insurance costs, etc. This proposed list was discussed at the January meeting of the Executive Committees of the CEMA which instructed the Permanent Commission for Foreign Exchange and Financial Affairs to complete the draft of this documentation and to report on the developments in this area in 1988.

The permanent work team for state financial supervision audits the funds expended for the construction of integrated projects and thus, helps reduce the costs of individual projects, although considerable hidden assets still exist in this area. Such opportunities must be exploited in subsequent stages, because the construction is extremely demanding and will affect the results of our national economy for a long time to come.

9004/12859
CSO: 2400/239

CLOSER COOPERATION OF VITKOVICE WITH USSR NOTED

Prague SVET HOSPODARSTVI in Czech 5 May 87 p 3

[Article by -lt-: "Closer Cooperation with the USSR"]

[Text] The enterprises of the Vitkovice syndicate have at their disposal an extensive production and export structure designated for USSR consumers. In order to maintain the volume of material deliveries and to continue to improve their quality--obviously, with desirable cuts in power and material consumption--the fulfillment of the objectives of the agreements on specialization and cooperation as well as innovations should be promoted.

In fact, the Soviet partners of the syndicate are participators in all seven multilateral agreements concluded within the socialist division of labor among the CEMA countries. Furthermore, they are participators in 3 bilateral agreements on specialization and cooperation in the manufacture of metallurgical equipment, instrumental technology and profiling machinery. Last year the share of these specialized exports amounted to almost 75 percent of all exports to the USSR. Most of them consisted of deliveries of machinery for rolling mills.

The syndicate in Vitkovice, one of the largest VHI's [economic production units] in the CSSR, is intensively developing direct relations in production and R&D with our partners in the USSR. Thus far four agreements were concluded in this area for the purpose of cooperation in the manufacture of equipment for nuclear power plants and the so-called wide-strip rolling mills. At present negotiations are underway about potential cooperation with other Soviet partners; they are focused primarily on waste water purification plants, equipment for strip-mining of coal, technology for metallurgical engineering, manufacture of elevators and transportation machinery, improved methods of plasma spraying, and plans for automated production in mill trains.

Moreover, teams of workers from the Vitkovice syndicate are participating in the fulfillment of tasks included in the Comprehensive Program for R&D Progress of the CEMA Member States to Year 2000. Jointly with Soviet researchers they are solving, among other things, problems connected with the installation of equipment for continuous horizontal steel casting. Its purpose is to improve the technological standard of equipment made in the CSSR and USSR. These programs include a comprehensive solution of problems related to out-of-furnace steel treatment not only in terms of metallurgical processes, but also of the manufacture of the technological equipment.

DIRECT INTER-ENTERPRISE RELATIONS WITH USSR VIEWED

Prague SVET HOSPODARSTVI in Czech 6 May 87 p 2

[Article: "Direct Contacts with the USSR"]

[Text] The enterprises of the Tovarny Strojní Techniky [TST--Engineering Technology Works] in Prague are focusing special attention to the development of direct relations with organizations of production and R&D in the USSR.

They are considering, for example, the establishment of a joint association for the development of automatic profiling machinery for couplings, in which the Smeral Works KP [municipal enterprise] in Brno would participate with the M.I. Kalinin machine engineering association in Voronezh. Furthermore, also under consideration is an organization for cooperation in the production of automated lines for hot pressing on the basis of forging hammers, forge rolls, and heating and feeding equipment.

An agreement has been drafted on direct relations between the Karborundum KP in Benátky on the Jizera River with the VNIASH R&D association in Leningrad. It is focused in particular on improved production technology for grinding materials, utilization of unified Soviet ceramic bonding agents in the manufacture of grinding equipment, and specification and utilization of advanced equipment and mechanization of the manufacture of abrasives in the CSSR and USSR.

Direct relations between the Kovosvit KP in Sezimovo Ústí, the OKB ARS construction company in Leningrad, and the Novosibirsk machining equipment manufacture will aim at their joint development of a 11B 40 FF4 machining center and robotized workplace for machining of semifinished pieces.

The TOS KP in Celakovice is discussing with the Kominterná profiling machinery factory in Vitebsk possible concentration of, and cooperation in, the production of certain machinery units. The TOS KP in Varnsdorf is studying conditions for direct relations with a production association in Cherentsavan, Armenia. The Somet KP in Teplice and the NPO ENIMS in Moscow and the ENIMS in Vilnius are considering direct cooperation in the production of measuring devices.

A proposal for an agreement on cooperation between the TOS KP in Olomouc, the Kirov Works in Vitebsk, and the Precision Engineering Works in Odessa concerns

the development and production of peripheral machining units, cooperation in the production of containers for instruments, design of automatic exchange of instruments and pallets, and clamping equipment.

The TOS KP in Hostivar is studying proposals for joint development and production of certain types of grinders and for the organization of automated manufacture of standard machining modules with the machining manufacture association in Kharkov.

Moreover, the research organizations of the TST syndicate are considering closer cooperation with Soviet partners. For example, the syndicate's institute for research of instruments, the VUNAR in Nove Zamky, is negotiating with the VNII Research Institute in Moscow the possibility of cooperation in R&D of cutting instruments for machining of metals and utilization of mineral ceramics.

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COMPREHENSIVE INTENSIFICATION'S INDISPENSABILITY OUTLINED

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pp 226-232

[Article by Prof Dr Hans-Joachim Beyer, research department head at the SED Central Committee's Institute for the Political Economy of Socialism at the Academy of Social Sciences; "Ways of Developing Lasting Reserves for Growth"]

[Text] Thanks to the achievements of the workers class and of all working people, our social development is progressing with ongoing dynamics. This is as much reflected in our increasing economic capacity as in the results of science, technology, education, and culture, in all the important social accomplishments of our country's citizens. All of man's life has kept changing for the better. Wholly in this sense, Comrade Erich Honecker defined the unity of economic and social policy as our main battleground and the core of the economic strategy with a view to the year 2000. "The supreme maxim of our action is and remains to do everything for the benefit of the people, the happiness of men, and a life in peace."¹ This course has marked our sound development for more than a decade and a half and connects with the working people's vital experience that everyone benefits from doing good work.

High Growth through Comprehensive Intensification

New social demands and economic tasks--deeply characteristic of our united economic and social policies--are met among us on behalf of social objectives, not at the expense of such objectives as in capitalism, and thus from the standpoint of the requisite economic growth. Consequently our party's economic strategy is based on the conception of high economic dynamics and of a steady and rapid increase in labor productivity.

With its ten key economic strategy points, the 11th party congress set unequivocal measures in these terms. In the 1986-1990 5-year plan, as Comrade Erich Honecker asserted, our stable and dynamic economic growth must continue on a higher scale.² Our economy's excellent performance balance for 1986 provides our 5-year plan with a sound start. Among the outstanding results is that labor productivity grew faster than the national income. At 4.5 percent the labor productivity boost for the first time exceeded the noteworthy 4.3 percent growth in national income. The dynamic national income growth is based exclusively on the higher labor productivity.

Above all, the high tempo of microelectronics and in other areas of the key technologies, surpassing by multiples the rate of production growth as such, has greatly enlarged and changed in quality the economic performance potential. Our pace was heightened through production increases of 48 percent, e.g., for office computers, 28 percent for the latest integrated circuits, and a doubling of CAD/CAM terminals in existence. More still than in past years is the contribution to growth by all economic sectors based on increasing efficiency--reflecting a more rational labor capacity use, a dropping production consumption, and enhanced refining. With a share of 80 percent, industry has made the largest contribution to it. This favorable efficiency development is continuing in the building trade, agriculture, forestry, and the foodstuffs industry, and in the field of transport. The 3.8 percent lower shipping costs therefore amount not only to an excellent result for transportation, but to a first-rate intensification success for the entire economy. Production continuity and the costs for supplying all economic sectors proper as to contracts reap the benefits of it.

These advances are due to the many new initiatives and competition projects of the work collectives, the strenuous efforts of which on behalf of fulfilling and exceeding by target the ambitious planning quotas persuasively demonstrate how they have adapted themselves to our economic strategy's new qualitative criteria. The mighty mobilizing capacity of the united economic and social policies given expression by it was impressively corroborated early this year by the extra efforts in all economic sectors to make up fast for the backlogs incurred by the bad weather and get back to the normal annual plan rhythm. The dynamic economic growth can be ensured only when high performances are ensured day after day and new leads are simultaneously being created constantly by science and technology--that also is an important experience of our successful performance balance.

Complex Utilization of Qualitative Growth Factors

The continued shaping of the developed socialist society, our continuing our course of united economic and social policies--Comrade Erich Honecker made that clear at the 11th party congress--has us now concentrate fully on a comprehensive and lasting intensification of the economy. That means tapping growth sources in which the qualitative factors play the crucial role and the time economy, as Marx put it, becomes the "primary economic law." This then involves the kind of degree of economizing expenditures so that throughout the entire economy results grow much faster than the total outlays needed for them. Comprehensive intensification hence means that increasing efficiency not only is an important but the decisive prerequisite for economic growth. Over the long run, this pace of efficiency improvements can be guaranteed only through scientific-technical progress.

What Karl Marx found to be characteristic of such a type of intensive growth or--as he put it--"real economy," was that through productive forces development the economizing of labor and the reduction of production costs would be pushed to the utmost.³ For comprehensive intensification, it follows, one would typically then get an economic growth that relies on a resolute economizing of all types of expenditures and, objectively linked with it, has the complex utilization of all intensification factors as an absolute prerequisite.

What matters is to bring to bear all qualitative factors without exception on boosting the labor productivity. That applies to live and embodied labor alike. If on the economic scale fewer energy sources, raw materials and semifabricates are consumed, such cuts in the costs of embodied labor are tantamount to saving live labor invested in the preliminary steps of the cooperation chain. That way alone can, from the economic point of view, i.e. from step to step, the total expenditure of labor and the production costs be trimmed. Struggling for a higher labor productivity, all economic sectors thus face the task comprehensively to take account of the time economy law.

Economic growth dynamics relying on the complex effect of the qualitative factors, as Comrade Guenter Mittag pointed out, are aimed at high performance growth while further slashing specific costs of raw materials, semifabricates, and energy sources.⁴ It means paying the greatest attention also in the future to slashing production consumption. At a 63 percent share of the GNP, it is and remains an important source for enlarging the national income. As already in the 1981-1985 period so again in 1986, trimming the specific production consumption has contributed significantly to national income growth. This is the way we shall have to continue resolutely, the 5-year plan setting clear criteria for it. And this involves reduction rates that stand up to international comparisons in view of the level already obtained. The specific consumption of rolled steel in the metal processing industry and in the building trade is to be reduced on the annual average by 7.5 and 6.7 percent respectively.⁵ That means that the economic use and handling of resources becomes the decisive source for meeting the greater economic demands in fuels, energy, raw materials, and semifabricates.

Most Important Permanent Growth Sources: the Key Technologies

Among the decisive requirements resulting from the qualitatively new growth criteria of the 11th party congress is to lend a permanent character to these typical growth sources of comprehensive intensification and to have science and technology time and time again uncover new chances for economizing. The fact that with the turn made to comprehensive intensification the expenditure of material, energy, and raw materials was already greatly reduced, shows the great growth-intensity of our economy and also explains that it is becoming increasingly important to tap mainly those growth reserves that are inexhaustible and ensure always replicable effects. That alone will make possible a permanent comprehensive intensification in conformity with the economic strategy that is looking ahead to the year 2000. Decisive for it is that growth sources are made effective that go beyond what is already known. The main thing relates to novel effects of the scientific-technical progress, though technical-organizational measures or improvements of already introduced procedures are still going to play a large role. "Now the consistent application of the key technologies it will be that must lead not only to maintain the reduction rates in the specific consumption of important economic raw materials and semifabricates, but even to surpass them in a targeted manner in specific sectors."⁶

Exploiting such opportunities as the ones that arise from microelectronics and from using the CAD/CAM technique, as from using new working materials and economic light construction, that means for the combines and enterprises

a far-reaching change in economizing sources. Top achievements in material economy, technically and economically surpassing the previous solutions, principally arise on the basis of enhanced refining and of quality. Increasing use-value parameters for new products constantly offer new chances for slashing specific material consumption. On the other hand, gaining greater material savings, e.g., by purging line products is not expandable at will without obstructing economic demands and increasing quality requirements. On the contrary, lower production consumption and higher product quality--both efficiency requirements must be met simultaneously. That is a fundamental concern in the complex utilization of all intensification factors and one of the decisive efficiency aspects in comprehensive intensification. Saving material at the cost of quality would contradict the economic requirements. What matters in all materials economy initiatives thus is compellingly to link increasing labor productivity and reduced material and energy consumption with high-grade production throughout.

New Management Requirements from the Material Economy Vantage Point

In the combines and enterprises many initiatives show how these new performance criteria can successfully be implemented through consistent management activity.

Experiences indicate: Advances in tapping new growth reserves are found mainly in combines and enterprises that have managed further to enlarge and turn into the main source for a higher materials economy the proportion of the savings borne by science and technology. There are already not a few R&D collectives that have decided to bring about the production consumption cut for the entire 1986-1990 period up to 80 percent and more through R&D projects. That makes it necessary that such objectives are from the outset included through concrete measures in the science and technology plan, related to specific products, and that the long-term scientific-technical developmental conception in the combine is kept at the most up-to-date status also under the materials economy aspect. Such a procedure has led to better insights into developmental tasks, not only in R&D, but among all who are responsible for the materials economy, and has helped the collectives to assume combative positions at the scale of the economy. An important precondition for it was to overcome the notion that the design and technological level of products achieved permitted no further savings. Persuasive political-ideological work, expert briefings using optimum values and performance comparisons, and discussions among all those involved then led to the rather definite realization that important material-economic effects could be obtained mainly by much closer links between new design and new technological approaches. That presupposes of course consistently gaging technological progress against international standards and placing more ambitious criteria on one's own design and technological development.

The struggle for higher effects includes the question of the lead in material-economic deliberations and measures: Science and technology can provide the material-economic solutions and the requisite advances in efficiency needed to ensure the reduction rates the annual plan stipulates only if an adequate lead has been created for it in time. From this a whole number of combines and enterprises drew the inference to prepare new measures in advance of at least 2 to 5 years. Concretely that means that even now the material saving changes have to be planned which will go into effect in 1989 and thereafter.

To do it like that is important to be able to ensure reliably and in time not only the pertinent scientific-technical measures themselves, but also the material-technical premises for making them take effect. Without rigorously enforcing such managerial principles it would be totally unthinkable to gain a rapid production effectiveness for optimum values oriented to international top standards.

Advances in the materials economy greatly depend on how one is working with license renewals and tasking workbooks. It has been found useful at the initial pleading to set down accurately together with the tasking workbook objectives the management tasks under the materials economy aspect and to demonstrate the benefit expected. Rational ways of the materials economy have to be reflected in reduced costs. Thus it pays off if for tasking workbook objectives not only the cuts in prime costs, but also the material cost reduction are demanded. To that end, progressive enterprises have further developed the cost computation for R&D tasks and thereby facilitated estimating whether material-economic optimum values are expressed also in correspondingly lower costs. This approach makes possible assigning leads for the R&D and technology collectives and ambitious goals for socialist competition in the materials economy.

Important advances in the materials economy, furthermore, demand working out special tasking workbooks with material and energy-economic objectives. Enterprises that have chosen this approach more want to bring it about thereby that main lines in the materials economy and in enhanced refining, in which mainly through the key technologies revolutionary changes are indicated, are being pursued systematically and are gaining appropriate weight in the science and technology plan. Along with the principle to include material and energy-economy targets in each tasking workbook, this is a principled approach to bringing about far-reaching qualitative changes in the materials economy and for envisioning novel solutions. On behalf of quality products up to world market standards it is becoming increasingly important to meet material and energy-economic requirements jointly with the ancillary suppliers. In view of the high share of cooperation going into many end products, that is--from the economic point of view--a first-rate material-economic reserve. And here the main thing that matters is to establish the upgrading tendencies of products from the vantage points both of the ancillary suppliers and the end producers and to coordinate long-range their respective scientific-technological requirements. Achieving high scientific-technical and economic results thereby--as shown by the positive results of the new forms of research cooperation--largely depends on a high degree of economic accountability by both partners enforced by performance agreements in commercial contracts.

A closer link between product upgrading and technological progress is very important for a higher materials and energy economy. Product upgrading, after all, is a complex process that must go hand in hand with decisive technological production advances and also lead this way to important material-economic effects that can stand up not only in the materials invested but also in the costs to all performance comparisons. As a very useful way to systematically cut material and energy consumption in the chemical industry, complex process analyses have turned out to be very useful. Their basic idea is to penetrate the material and energy-intensive production lines and process levels

step by step in all the sectors in a combine, make losses apparent and, above all, find handles for new technological solutions. The Walter Ulbricht Leuna Works, belonging among the initiators in this field and having thereby saved enormous volumes of energy, prepare between 15 and 20 such analyses per year. The experiences gained are applicable in all economic sectors.

One of those experiences comes down to that technological variants are feasible combining enhanced refining and improved product quality, production growth, reduced costs and increasing environmental protection with a materials and energy economy. So it turns out to be economically very favorable to link maintenance and modernization according to plan with energy-economy measures and new solutions for utilizing secondary energy. In terms of expenditures as well as of the time factor, that is normally the most cost-beneficial rationalization variant. Another advantage of such process analyses lies in the intensive concerted efforts among R&D personnel, technicians, energy personnel, production workers, and maintenance personnel, which facilitates uncovering new scientific-technical performance reserves complex in nature irrespective of departmental borderlines.

Among the first principles of sound material and energy-economic work is that with each technological change the relevant consumption norms are reviewed and these changes are taken account of in the plan. Progressive norms--this is an important practical experience--stem from resolute management activity. They alone make possible, starting from R&D to the implementation of any given measures, actually mobilizing the reserves so opened up so that they will make a difference in economic balance-sheets. In every sphere of responsibility one should see to it that the consumption of material and energy is strictly supervised and that the norms are systematically revised. For all important consumption and exploitation positions an accurate survey must be in existence, and the discussion about it must be used to bring down the level disparities among the combines. Among the management principles absolutely to be observed also is the regular updating of material consumption norms. In recent years, the number of combines and enterprises has grown significantly which review their energy consumption norms at least once per year, revising them regularly every one to one-and-a-half year. That is much facilitated by the use of CAD/CAM techniques. That makes possible not only drastic savings of time in preparing and updating such norms but, above and beyond that, new material-economic solutions with unprecedented effects. That relates to the optimizing of material and energy consumption, an accurate assessment of the dimensions of new working and functional principles, and a reliability and working life test relative to material investments. Where CAD/CAM techniques are successfully applied to such tasking areas, the proportion of progressive technically and economically sound norms rises fast; by now it not rarely embraces up to 95 percent of such norms and standards.

Such norms constitute a solid basis for material planning and offer the possibility to take off the expected savings in fact from the material plan, providing them with full balance effectiveness. Objections have often been raised against that because one was used to balancing out any possible excess consumption from those kinds of "reserves." Effective normative changes in material consumption presuppose, however, that all prerequisites are in place when one starts the mass production of new or further developed products

to be sure to realize the projected material and cost savings. Even the best measures to save material do little good unless rationalization means production has done what it has to do in good time and made the needed gadgets, tools, and measuring and testing devices available.

Ambitious material-economic targets and seeking novel, effective solutions are a necessary prerequisite for conducting the competition with success. Material and energy-economic contests in ideas, organized by following the example of chemistry, have a great mobilizing effect. It is essential for this form of competition that the entire creative potential of the innovators is aimed at the decisive material and energy-economic tasks in a combine, all work collectives are drawn in, and top achievements and new optimum values are accomplished in the outcome. Whatever form of competition may particularly be chosen, its success greatly depends on its being conducted accountably and publicly, and concretely on the basis of sound technical-economic norms in the Leninist sense. Especially in the material-economic field, where it concerns the economic allocation of our resources, the areas of responsibility must be clearly delineated for each collective and conform with accounting for the material and energy consumption. That is essential not only for issuing leads for malleable and measurable parameters, but also for the performance comparisons among collectives. A consistent material-economic performance comparison also presupposes that savings are compared with any possible extra consumption.

That all these forms of competition are linked with high demands made on cost cutting is of course necessary. Otherwise one will have no complex performance comparisons. Especially costs are highly revealing in the performance comparisons among collectives or enterprises because they clearly bring out the economic performance reserves and optimum values. The collectives' responsibly dealing with material and energy implies the development and targeted stimulation of thinking in terms of the cost/benefit ratio. So one must attribute great importance to informing the working people in every way about costs. To that end, e.g., many enterprises and combines have set up consultation centers that greatly help improve the cost assessments. There the collectives not only get thorough information on cost levels and priorities in the combine or enterprise as such, but also suggestions and concrete recommendations for the type of costs a collective may be able to influence.

The struggle for a new quality of economic growth reflected by all these initiatives requires approaching all management matters from the standpoint of top efficiency. Intensification knows of no standstill. Its lasting sources therefore lie in scientific-technical progress and a broadly organized specialist rationalization. That offers workers, scientists, and technicians much elbow room for creative activity. The economic criteria are pitched high for it throughout. Producing more quality products with smaller expenditures in material and energy, a faster transfer of new products into production, bringing out top achievements fast and obtaining good economic results thereby, all that means lending permanent foundations to comprehensive intensification.

FOOTNOTES

1. "Final Speech by Comrade Erich Honecker at the 11th SED Congress," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 22 April 1986, p 2.
2. Cf. "Aus dem Schlusswort des Genossen Erich Honecker, 3. Tagung des ZK der SED" [From Comrade Erich Honecker's Concluding Remarks at the 3rd SED Central Committee Session], Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1986, p 96.
3. Cf. Karl Marx, ""Principles of the Critique of Political Economy." "Werke" [Works], Vol 42, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1983, p 607.
4. Cf. Guenter Mittag, "The Policy of the 11th SED Congress Conforms with the Interests of the People and Is Implemented with Rich Initiatives," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 28 November 1986, p 6.
5. Cf. "Aus dem Schlusswort . . .," op. cit., p 97.
6. Guenter Mittag, "Mit qualitativ neuen Schritten zu hoechsten Leistungen" [Through Qualitatively New Steps to Top Achievements], Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1986, p 58.

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COMPUTER TECHNOLOGY'S EFFECT ON WORKERS EXAMINED

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[Article by Prof Dr Harry Nick, research department head at the SED Central Committee's Institute for the Political Economy of Socialism at the Academy of Social Sciences: "Man and Computer"]

[Text] The beginning of a massive and rapidly advancing technization of mental activities "is the fundamental process of the scientific-technical revolution: the transformation of data processing technology, closely linked with automation. Whereas the industrial revolution of the past pertained to manual and energetic relations between manpower, working tools, and the objects of labor, it now amounts to mental operations becoming accessible to technology. Not only physical, but also structurable mental functions are more and more transferred to technology." (Footnote 1) (Kurt Hager, "Marxismus-Leninismus und Gegenwart" [Marxism-Leninism and the Present], Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1986, pp 33-34.)

The multiplication of man's mental capacities is what is revolutionary in this process which irradiates and pervades all processes of the scientific-technical progress, creates new efficiency potentials and, at once, significantly alters the work of a rapidly growing number of people. One can easily see that economic potentials of an entirely new type and at unprecedented dimensions are developing here. No less important of course are all the questions that relate to the changes in the substance and conditions of human labor: to their cooperation, the separation of functions as between man and technology, and the relation between man and technology altogether.

From the Marxist-Leninist standpoint--in that the content and function of technology are determined from the human aspect, that of live human labor, of the labor process--technical developments, even scientific-technical revolutions, cannot alter the basic relation between man and technology. "We maintain that even in the computer age man with his work, his abilities and--lest we forget--his needs remains the center of all that happens." (Footnote 2) (Erich Honecker, "Construction Makes Outstanding Contribution to the Strengthening of the GDR and the Safeguarding of Peace," NEUES DEUTSCHLAND, 15/16 June 1985, p 3) New natural science discoveries and new technical developments have time and time again provided new evidence for the validity

and fruitfulness of Marxist-Leninist theory. They also always again were a challenge to provide convincing answers to questions raised by these developments and come to grips with unscientific interpretations.

Given the fact that no longer just functions of man's physical labor, but even functions of his mental activity are transferred to technology, what then is the field of human activity, the field that is in principle all our own, as it were? Is the progressive transfer of human work functions to technology--as bourgeois publications frequently contend--the endless process of man's "ousting" from production?

If the circle of what is practically producible widens constantly, is it that then the discrepancy between what is producible, the rationally conceivable, and the emotionally replicable some day becomes so wide that our sense of responsibility cannot contain it anymore? Does this technical development mean--as is also often alleged in western parts--a growing supremacy of the rational, a demarche of a cold world of machinery, that pushes human warmth, sentiments, and ethical values against the edge of our life?

And then there are of course many questions more practical in nature: How can under the conditions of an increasing use of EDP technology the functional division as between man and the machine be rendered most purposeful, so that the productive force of human labor rises while labor itself becomes more ambitious, diversified, and interesting? What new demands on knowledge, education, qualifications, and also on attitudes and modes of conduct, does this technology bring along? How must one as a matter of principle approach the question of the relations between man and technology; which would, as it were, have to be the initial question? Widespread is the attempt to find the answer for it by asking who would be better at doing and implementing something and who cannot do it--man or the machine. From there inferences are then drawn with overpowering effects on technology, purportedly "proving" man's being outdone by technology; yet from there diametrically opposed contentions are also being circulated in that a great number of tasks are described that computers presumably cannot solve on principle.

Technology--Object of Social Interests

In wanting to define the relations between man and technology briefly, pithily and accurately, in its essentials, that is, only one statement remains: Only man has in this relationship a subject function; technology is always only the object of human, hence of social, interests. Never thus and nowhere, under no kind of social circumstances, is it a materialization of targets, purposes and interests of technology. Looking at the relation between man and technology from the vantage point of the labor process, technology always and everywhere is at the service of man. Here one must of course inquire about the use men make of this technology, whether under humanistic aspects in a humanistic society technology is truly made serviceable to man, whether it serves the good of all the people or tramples the people's interests under foot. For all human history demonstrates: technology can also be used against man, always by other men, that is.

The fear that through a progressive development of an increasingly more "intelligent" technology it could possibly one day have become so clever that it would get tired of being a serf to man and turn against human purposes, is uncalled for. Such considerations do at times appear, to be sure, as the logical and unavoidable consequence of simple evolution, the steady upward development of technology. In reality, however, such considerations are totally illogical. They presume a radical break of today's man-technology relation, a direct reversal of it. But why should something like that happen? And how and through what? Nothing, nothing at all suggests that the target and purpose of technical development will some day no longer come from man.

Those who suggest a reversal of the man-technology relationship sooner or later, evidently sense the weakness of their conceit. Therefore, not so rarely they resort to some sort of "traffic accidents," to unexpected and of course unintended technical defects, in the course of which the machines, for once, "tear their chains," take off on their own, and turn against man. And once that happens, in consequence of the incomparably greater capacity of such technical entities, compared with human physical capacities and mental potentials, a development would become possible that is marked by the rule of technology over man. One can hardly keep track of the variants of that kind encountered in utopian literature.

Naturally, even for the future one cannot preclude the failure of technical systems, unintended and harmful effects, even if, especially from the subjective factor, through higher knowledge and more responsible action, the "threshold" for dangerous effects can be vastly elevated while also the possibilities are growing to ensure more reliably the controls over technological processes through scientific-technical progress. Naturally, all developments must be prevented that obstruct or reduce human controls over technology produced inadequately. The most important here of course is the elimination of weapons of mass destruction, the further development of which certainly also can bring it about that humanity becomes the victim of some possible technical failure. Still, even for such a catastrophe it is not technology that would per se be responsible. Fully liable for it would be men, imperialist forces putting their chips on confrontation, with contempt for the signs of the time who--instead of renouncing politically aggressive designs--abuse their power to push ahead technical developments that would not reduce but enlarge the danger of a nuclear holocaust.

Technical development as such will never be able to -- be the basic relation between man and technology. But surely enough -- the modern productive forces capacities have been handed over to -- at burden them with the responsibility for controlling the technology, for its humanistic use, for absolutely preventing its misuse for military purposes, as no generation ever before. This is a challenge to human, to political morality which--as especially the proposal on eliminating nuclear weapons from Mikhail Gorbachev made persuasively clear--the countries in the community of socialist states are facing on behalf of humanity; a challenge that must reach are peaceable men and ultimately lead to political guarantees preventing a misuse of that technology.

No technical development will ever alter that: man is the purpose of technology. The purpose of man is man himself. This basic connection, which stems from a resolutely humanistic conception of man and of technology, and which in a genuine humanistic society like ours determines the relation between man and technology also in its practical aspects, also is the point of departure for answering the question: How can the division of functions as between man and the machine be suitably organized; and which functions accrue, in terms of essentials, exclusively to man?

Man Determines the Social Process of Life

From this subject role of man in his relation with technology one can clearly define the complex of tasks that indeed can never be transferred to technology: the implementation of social processes and relations. Technology can and will be an important and ever more helpful means in this--e.g. in the communication processes. But in the process of social life technology will never become a partner of man. A real partner of man always only is some other man. Affection, friendship, love, aversion, hatred, deep mutual understanding and thorough misunderstanding can exist only among men.

Also, only from this subject role of man can one answer the question whether computers can think or even feel. If by thinking we were to mean only the logical processing of information, one should indeed have to say that machines can think. But that would be a fallacy resulting from an oversimplified assumption. This point also makes clear that the computer forces us to think more deeply about what the essence of human thinking actually amounts of. This is not a matter, not even primarily a matter, of that human thinking proceeds differently from the way technical data processing systems function because, e.g., human thinking depends on biological processes but the "thinking" of technical systems, more on physical processes. The truly essential difference rather is that human thinking simply also includes a social component and is tied up with the subject role of man. That means, e.g., that the experiences, various inclinations and interests, accurate knowledge as well as intuition, and the inseparable interlinkage between rational and emotional components play a role; that in our thinking, consciously or unconsciously, our relations to the environment and other people are of great importance.

In this approach, of course, we have to remain truly consistent. Undeniably, target criteria can be fed into technical systems that make possible a logical and purposeful "conduct" of computer programs, imitating, as it were, an "interest directed behavioral strategy." Only that it is just imitation. A computer can simulate some specific models and strategies of behavior. By means of computers we shall be able to simulate more and more complicated, subtle processes of consciousness, yet never will computers gain self-awareness in the sense of ultimately pursuing their own interests and ends. Computers have no consciousness of their own, no will of their own, no psyche, no targets and intentions of their own. Yet this also means that technical development gives no reason to be afraid that the progressive technization of ever more intricate models and structures of behavior would bound to become ever more dangerous to man.

The fields of exclusively human activity thus include everything that serves the purposes and objectives of technical systems. Subordinating technology to man also is reflected in that, in principle, the mode of functioning of technology is predetermined by man. Automated systems are not really technical systems that run and regulate "themselves." They function according to regulations, target criteria, preassigned by man--in the form of software, e.g. This does not mean, to be sure, that in every case each single step has to be prescribed; heuristic, i.e. target-seeking, programs are becoming more and more possible which offer the computer in carrying out assigned tasks options also that will purposefully be used. Yet the mode of functioning of technical systems on the whole as well as, above all, the targets assigned are determined by man. This is a field of human activity that constantly broadens while automation is making headway and gains in importance to economic and social progress.

A comment in this context on the term of "decision." Decisions always include a social element; in that sense computers make no decisions. They can compare variants and select the one that conforms most to the target function set down. That is no decision as a social process, however. And if it turns out that of many variants first under consideration only a single one proves to be truly useful, it still calls for the decision by man to turn precisely that very variant into action. That is the actual decision-making process. Computers are becoming increasingly indispensable for it; they provide help for decision-making, but they do not make the decisions.

Enrichment of Human Life

Precisely EDP technology constantly broadens the objective material prerequisites for enriching human life, for the increasing development and intensification of social relations among men--at least in a society and for men who can make appropriate use of this technology. Consider the development of modern communications technology, which in the true sense of the word helps overcome distances among men and contracts space and time. It makes possible for men living hundreds of kilometers apart to be able to talk with and even to see each other. It creates the material premises for joint intellectual-cultural experiences at a range inconceivable in the past and so also foundations for intellectual exchange.

At the same time, the economic effects of scientific-technical progress make possible that we are gaining more and more time to pursue intellectual-cultural interests and inclinations, time also for leisure and, all in all, for a progressive cultivation of interhuman relations, increasing wealth of our social environment. We talk only about the material-technical possibilities here, of course. How they are actually used, that depends on social relations and on individual abilities and interests. EDP technology is of great cultural and social value if humanistic use is made of it. For example, expert systems in medicine will surely become very important, partly because in many ways they facilitate much more accurate and faster diagnoses, providing, as it were, a scientifically exact level for the medical arts. But their social effect must also be found in that through its use physicians and nurses gain more time for intensively tending the sick. Finding out how ill a person really is and how he can best be cured will never be determined by computers alone--simply because man is a social being. For that one will always need helpful, sympathetic and, above all, knowledgeable people.

What Makes Man Superior

What with all one may think about as suitable a division of functions between man and computer as possible, the principal fact that plays a role here is that the computer in the performance of data processing is and will for a long time be greatly superior to man in many of the components, while still inferior to man in many others. That has to do with today's capability, efficiency, and mode of functioning of the computer. For instance, computations a computer can take care of much faster than people can; but image recognition can take much longer because of the way today's image recognition systems function. Or: technically coping with the problem of "grab in the box"--to select from a medley of building blocks of diverse configurations a particular one, which even an infant can do--is still one of the not completely resolved research tasks.

Furthermore, the computer has no "grey zones" in its capacity, no presentiments, premonitions and of course no fears or anxieties. When a computer "errs," which is always due to a human mistake--be it in programming or even in the hardware manufacture--it is not likely to "stumble" over such an error even when it assumes a scope that would long have caused a man to stop and think. It is conceivable, for instance, that a wage clerk adds the insurance dues to the gross income instead of subtracting them, and he may even do so twice or three times in succession. But ultimately he will come to question the correctness of his procedure. A computer knows no such questioning. If the program has a minus instead of a plus, the computer will assiduously add the insurance dues to the gross income for the whole crew no matter how big. EDP technology--that is underscored by it--then also makes higher demands on the rigidity of analytic-methodical thinking and on correctness to furnish flawless results. It is this very correctness that creates the prerequisites for fully covering the leeway EDP technology has in store for creative work.

Sure enough, there is an historic aspect to all these matters. Future computers are likely to recognize complete and accurate images much faster. They will be able to recognize, analyze, and evaluate more complex situations and prepare appropriate behavioral strategies. But the store of mental activities man can apply more economically, faster and better for some time to come is exceptionally large. One may possibly say without any exaggeration: Even in 100 years it is technically not going to be possible to design a robot that can do all that a first grader can do on his way home: negotiate the traffic in the street, step on no one's toes, nod at the people he knows, make fun of his schoolmates and so forth. And if he then in addition still pays attention to a flower, a twittering bird, or a butterfly, we see we are dealing with activities here that are only appropriate to man and that a robot will never master, if for no other reason but that it does not have to.

Human individuality accounts for this difference in the performances for the community--and this not only for great thinkers and artists--but also in its special value for other men.

Much as this involves historic aspects, the examples described here ultimately have to do precisely with the subject function of man. Among the most important and inexhaustible sources, from which tasks incessantly flow toward men,

which they alone can carry out better than technical devices, is the incomparable universality in human modes of action such as his individuality, the uniqueness of the individual. Universality here stands for the virtually unlimited variety in the ability of man to pass from one mode of conduct to another, to adapt without constraint to environmental changes in this sense. Technical systems today do not even come close to any comparable universality and variety in reacting to the environment. Nor will they have such universality in storing, evaluating, and processing data and in changing modes of conduct; ultimately that is so simply because we need no such universal technical systems. The most complicated technology derives its proper meaning only from how it relates to human labor, for implementing human and social ends. Outside of such relevance the most intricate computer would be nothing but a senseless heap of metal pieces.

All in all: "revolutions of the robots" will continue to take place only in utopian literature. If they enter science literature serious in intent they simply are false theories, fairy tales, myths, superstition. Nothing in recognizable technical developments indicates that technology could become autonomous over against human goals and purposes. Man will always remain its master, its creator and ruler--able to use this world of machines ever more effectively, flexibly and accurately for his own needs.

Adapting the technology to man is the predominant trend in the opportunities for enriching human life created by the modern productive forces. That relates to the ergonomic aspect of the man-technology equation, i.e. the shaping of such working conditions in dealing directly with technology which best conform with the biological (physiological and psychological) givens of man, as well as creating the kind of work contents that will offer favorable developmental opportunities to man's creative capacities. Ultimately the modern productive forces call for a type of social producer who is not only highly educated and creative and shows a high degree of responsibility, but who, moreover, from those social premises is the direct goal of production and of social activity all-around. This above all expresses the internal affinity between the ongoing scientific-technical revolution and the socialist social order.

5885

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MEASURES TO STIMULATE SAVINGS OF MATERIALS, FUNDS

Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 5 May 87 pp 1, 5

[Interview with Valeriu Mosoeanu, Vice Chairman of the National Bank, by Corneliu Carlan]

[Text] In line with the basic strategic guidelines of the party policy under this five-year plan, where emphasis is placed on the qualitative, intensive factors of economic growth, special significance is given to refining the economic and financial mechanism and ensuring optimal conditions for the assertion and strengthening of self-management and self-administration. As is known, in the context of these concerns, at the 29 April 1987 meeting of the Political Executive Committee of the CC of the RCP, based on the instructions given by Nicolae Ceausescu, measures were outlined on improving the level of interest collected and paid by banks in their relations with the socialist units and the population. I interviewed Valeriu Mosoeanu, Vice Chairman of the National Bank, on the significance of these measures.

[Question] How does the role of interest in our planned economy manifest itself?

[Answer] Interest together with credit involve basic instruments of the economic and financial mechanism, as factors of stimulating the collectives of working people in highly responsibly and very efficiently managing the material and financial assets entrusted by society for administration and development, contributing to ensuring the financial and monetary balance and a sound monetary flow. Unlike the capitalist economy, where interest especially is a factor of increasing profit to the detriment of the makers of material assets, in the socialist economy interest, as an integral part of the net income of enterprises, has a special function, its rate for various categories of credits being established by the state in a planned manner, according to the conditions prevailing at that point in the economy and in light of the specific goals of each stage of development. For instance, if a too low rate of interest may lower the enterprise's concern for wisely managing its own funds, because

the bank credit is "cheapened", the provision of high interest by banks swells production costs, reducing the economic efficiency of production, even in the situation where the unit involved uses its own available material and financial resources in a wise manner.

[Question] What objectives and what conditions were considered in the measures to lower the rate of interest endorsed by the Political Executive Committee?

[Answer] One of the essential traits of economic and financial self-management involves self-financing, which in our party's outlook must be the main way of ensuring the material and financial means needed for achieving the planned production and resuming production on an enlarged scale. As self-financing expands--through augmenting profits and efficiency--the next step involves reducing the volume of credits requested by enterprises, hence also of the interest paid to banks. In this context, recent years have seen a number of important qualitative changes in all sectors of our economy, materialized in the development and diversification of material output and increase in efficiency, and this has had a positive impact on the overall results in the economy and the standard of living. The measures outlined by the Political Executive Committee to lower the rate of bank interest for credits granted to economic units, in supplementing their own funds needed for completing the plan assignments, are part of the set of projects initiated by the party to improve the organization and modernize production, to strengthen self-management and self-administration, projects designed to generate a high rise in labor productivity, the increase in the technical and qualitative level of products, the better use of raw materials and supplies, the cut in production costs and turnover expenditures.

[Question] To what degree will interest be lowered?

[Answer] Generally, the rate of interest which will be collected by banks for current credits for production and turnover will be lowered by one percentage unit in industry, transportation, research, design, foreign trade, supply, and the like--from 5 percent to 4 percent; for the units of domestic trade and co-operative agriculture, interest is lowered from 3 percent to 2.5 percent and, respectively, from 2 percent to 1.5 percent. For the credits involving some reserves of raw materials which ensure the energy base and the production base, respectively, coal, coke, iron ore and nonferrous ores existing in the production units, the interest will be lowered from 3 percent to 2 percent. For the purpose of redistributing some reserves taken over by the technicomaterial supply bases, for current credits the interest will be lowered from 3 percent to 2 percent. The rate of the interest collected by banks for the credits that are granted within the limit of the ceilings approved to economic units which are incapable of paying and for payment on schedule to suppliers is lowered, as a rule, by one percentage unit. For the credits which were not paid on schedule by units in industry, transportation, technicomaterial supply, services and the like the interest is lowered by 3-4 percentage units. Moreover,

for current credits for investment projects, for facilities that are being completed under the planned commissioning schedule, the interest is cut from 3 percent to 2.5 percent; in case the facilities are completed ahead of schedule, the interest will be 2 percent, versus 2.5 percent now.

[Question] What will the procedure be in the case of the monetary availabilities in bank accounts of socialist units and of the population deposited at the savings and loan banks for which interest is being paid?

[Answer] For these also the rate of interest will be lowered, and this will prompt the units to use these availabilities for production, according to the plan, accelerating turnover of circulating assets and thereby increasing profitability and profits. For instance, the rate of interest which is paid by banks for availabilities in the accounts of state and cooperative economic units is lowered by half of a percentage unit, from 2 percent to 1.5 percent. For the availabilities of mass organizations the interest paid will be 1.8 percent. Of course, it is a matter of a general reduction of interest in both the relations with socialist units and with the population. As stated at the meeting of the Political Executive Committee, the interest must not be a means of obtaining income without work. The incomes of the state and of the population must be based on work, on profitability and on an efficient economic activity.

[Question] To what degree does interest further involve incentive in most carefully using local funds and in reducing the volume of bank credits?

[Answer] As is known, credits are established on the basis of the plan for financing socioeconomic activity and are granted in light of the conditions of achieving the existing output in each enterprise. Hence, an economic unit normally can use credits only within rigidly stated limits based on regulations approved. Furthermore, differential rates of interest are maintained for normal production credits and for those which were not repaid on schedule because of tie-up of material and financial assets in excessively large reserves or the existence of losses in the wake of conducting an unprofitable activity. Consequently, the enterprises which will not sufficiently concern themselves with preventing and eliminating tie-ups of funds, with following the provisions approved as to reserves, not repaying on schedule the credits received, will incur increased interest, which will impact on profitability and profits. In general, by implementation of the new rates of interest, the economic units will be ensured conditions for the use of production funds with higher efficiency, the reduction of production costs, of turnover expenses and of investment costs, the increase in net income and monetary accumulations, hence in profitability and profits.

[Question] What should the economic units do to achieve the goal pursued by the measures to lower the rate of interest?

[Answer] The measures taken by the party and state leadership to assist the economic units by lowering the bank interest must be followed by the broad involvement of the collectives of working people in all sectors of activity for the on-schedule and exemplary completion of assignments as to production and marketing of products, with priority given to exports. Specifically, the economic units must take measures to tailor the supplies to the strict needs of production, in light of the provisions on use and reserves. We must strive to enhance the concern of suppliers to collect as soon as possible the equivalent value of the products supplied, of the projects completed or of the services performed, because this is the only way to achieve the planned incomes and profits under the best conditions. All must know that the circulating assets tied up in excessively large reserves cause the enterprises to be incapable of repaying on time the credits which they received from banks, a fact which entails higher interest and penalties.

Certainly, for the implementation of the new measures satisfactorily, major responsibilities lie with the financial-banking bodies, also, in regard to assisting the economic units in completing the plan assignments, by exercising a firm, preventive supervision and displaying greater strictness on following the laws and strengthening order and discipline in use of the material and financial assets entrusted for administration and development.

11710

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DRUG ABUSE IN SLOVAKIA SEEN AS SERIOUS THREAT

Bratislava UCITELSKÉ NOVINY in Slovak No 16, 1987 pp 9, 10

[Article by major general Jan Krajčí, SSR Deputy Minister of Interior:
"To Speed up the Progress from Knowledge to Effectiveness"]

[Excerpts] The socialistic system with its humanistic principles creates suitable conditions for creative work and honorable life for its citizens. It is generally known how the socialist state is concerned about the happiness of man. This principle is anchored in the basic document titled, "The Main Directions of Economic and Social Development of the CSSR for 1986-1990 with a View to the Year 2000," which emphasizes that the "main goal which the CPCZ is following is to increase the living standard, to satisfy the material and spiritual needs of the population at a qualitatively higher level, to strengthen its life and social securities and to create the most favorable conditions for a harmonious development of man."

Despite such efforts and successes, various demoralizing and destructive phenomena do occur on the periphery of our socialist society, such as asocial and criminal behavior of individuals of isolated groups. Their activity causes moral and material damages. The greater social danger of such activity demands a decisive and consistent approach against the negative anti-social phenomena, unavoidable speeding up of the progress from finding out the substance of these phenomena and their causes and conditions to the actual implementing of effective measures. This is emphasized in particular when the young generation is affected. It is the young generation that soon be developing the demanding objectives of socialist development and will prove the life-span of socialism. That is the reason for the interest in a healthy development of the young generation.

Because of its detrimental effects and epidemic way of spreading, drug abuse is among the extremely dangerous anti-social phenomena. It entices its victims by promising to crack the door to the world's secrets, to attain the unattainable, to live thoroughly, to feel and be conscious of the unreachable, that which is beyond the borders of real life, it entices with a fictitious ability to reach the tabu of human life. Finally, it celebrates a victory over its victim, a definite and total victory, without warning, without a chance to fight back. After heavy personality changes, all human values are destroyed.

Even in the CSSR, the escalated use of psychotropic substances, particularly among the young people, is presently a serious and disquieting phenomenon. More and more often we hear warning voices from our specialists at psychiatric hospitals. According to the statistics, in the CSSR approximately 4500 persons are registered who are tested for psychotropic substances dependency. Even if they are not all drug addicts, the danger is very immediate and this problem is more and more serious. It is also serious because statistical data serves only for orientation. Statistics record only those individuals that want to be treated and visit a clinic, or individuals whose dependency was determined by a psychiatrist or a police officer.

A drug abuse problem in the CSSR was first detected in the beginning of the Sixties. The first problems were of a simple type, such as the use of available medicaments together with alcohol. Today, it is not rare to see complex substances made from commercial medicine. The classic drugs are not being used to such an extent as is the case in capitalist countries, but their use, however rare, has been recorded here and that is a serious warning. The biggest problems occur in large city agglomerations.

The first data about drug abuse came from Bratislava. Sniffing--the inhaling of synthetic substances and solvents--has been spreading here. It is not exceptional for people to inhale spot removers, grease solvents and brake fluid.

The extensive range of these substances has been even broadened by strong tea and tobacco extracts. There are reported cases of people drinking these psychotropic substances. Sniffing has spread to other Slovak cities. The public knows this type of drug abuse under the name "feting." This type of drug abuse affects youth from the age of 12 to 20.

The effects of sniffing are very serious, mainly because this type of drug abuse is common among the youth. On account of the destructive personality effects of psychotropic substances, the persons using drugs usually miss school or work. Often, a total degradation occurs. These people usually have serious health problems and death from inhalation is not uncommon. The criminal activity resulting from the use of psychotropic substances is varied--theft, immoral acts and violent criminal activity.

The reason for inhaling psychotropic substances is the longing for an unusual experience which often leads to repeated sniffing. There have been cases reported when young persons have inhaled such substances 3 to 4 times a day. Individuals sniff also but it is more often done in groups, in beer halls, in apartments and summer cottages. The police have found several groups of sniffing individuals in parks and other public places.

Another reason for sniffing is peer pressure. By succumbing to it the young person becomes an equal partner and has a feeling of being an adult. From the psychological viewpoint, it is a very strong motive for a young mind.

Another more serious drug abuse is the misuse of medicaments. A drug dependency occurs after a repeated use of pain killers, asthma medicine, psychopharmaceuticals, etc., without doctor's permission of course. The narcotic effects of medicaments are achieved mostly by combining them with alcohol or other substances. The police have learned that drug abusers know an extensive number of physical and chemical methods used to achieve relatively pure substances.

It is typical for drug abusers not to be satisfied with one form of intoxication. They progress from the more simple forms (inhalation) to the misuse of medicaments and finally the use of classic drugs. Recently, more and more intravenous use medicaments, dissolved in water, have been detected. It is also typical for drug abusers to keep increasing the dose. Particularly in use of medicaments the tolerance of the organism changes. Therefore the drug abusers, in order to reach the desired effect, must increase the dose or switch to a stronger drug.

The increased interest of drug abusers in medicaments leads to criminal activity--thefts, robberies of drug stores and medical facilities as well as fraud. As a result of personality disturbances and absence of ethical and esthetic values in chronic drug abusers, they often commit violent and immoral crimes. Self-damaging actions and suicides are also significant. We can say that for the drug abuser as well as for his environment the effects of the misuse of medicaments are much worse than the effects of sniffing.

The fact that the classic drugs (opium, morphine, heroin, hashish, marijuana, cocaine and their derivatives) are not readily available leads to illegal means of obtaining them. The police discovered activities of individuals as well as organized groups who were trying to smuggle these drugs illegally into Czechoslovakia. In spite of the high effectiveness of customs and police officers such smuggling efforts are sporadically repeated every year or so.

Another source of classic drugs are the pharmaceutical manufacturers and medical facilities. The drug addicts try to obtain them by robberies or theft. There is also an increase in obtaining pills, containing these drugs, using falsified prescriptions.

The drug addicts are also beginning to make their own drugs. The police department discovered efforts to grow poppy for opium. Interest in marijuana leads people to grow their own plants. The newest information indicates an interest in mushrooms commonly growing in the CSSR.

Various statistical indicators prove the unfavorable development of drug abuse in Slovakia. For instance, according to the SSR regional committee's statistics, the number of persons dependent on psychotropic substances has increased by more than 176 percent since 1981. There has been a significant increase of very young among the drug abusers. In 1985, of the total

number of drug abusers, 3.5 percent were extremely young and 16.1 percent were 15 to 20 years old.

In 1986, the former group increased to 6.3 percent and the latter to 22.1 percent. Of the total number of drug abusers recorded in the Regional Committee's statistics, 87.4 percent are people under 30. Together with the growth of the number of drug addicts, the crimes committed by a drug addict. Last year, the number has increased to 152 incidents.

It is demonstrable, that the horrible effects of drug addition are ever more serious. The decreasing age of drug addicts as well as the varied forms of drug addiction and the extending number of drugs demand increased attention.

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